

California Historical Society

Quarterly

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION

R. E. Cowan

C. Templeton Crocker

J. H. Nash

H. R. Wagner

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Vol. 1. No. 2.

October, 1922

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Reorganized March 27, 1922

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H. R. Wagner, First Vice-President
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A RESTITUTION OF DECAYED INTELLIGENCE

(More History of the California Historical Society).

Mr. H. R. Wagner,
California Historical Society.

My Dear Sir:

About the year 1605, in England, one Richard Verstegan, deploring the fact that the people of his generation were ignorant of many historical facts which had occurred during a preceding generation, felt it his duty and pleasure to recall to his contemporaries many of these matters, which he proceeded to do in a volume entitled

"A RESTITUTION OF DECAYED INTELLIGENCE".

I am reminded of this work and its peculiar title on reading the publication of the California Historical Society (of March 27, 1922,) in which an outline history of that society and its predecessors of like name is given.

It appears that one episode in the lives of the California Historical Society had escaped the notice of your historian, that is its consolidation with the California Genealogical Society during the years of 1902 to April 18, 1906, and subsequent separation by fire.

The evidence that has survived the fire of April, 1906, covering this fact I beg to submit herewith as a "restitution of decayed intelligence."

This can best be done by quoting from the original Minute Book of the California Genealogical Society, fortunately preserved from the fire and now before me.

Page 1. "On Saturday, February 12th, 1898, at 2:00 o'clock P. M. Col. A. S. Hubbard, T. A. Perkins Esq., Edgar Hobart and Miss Sarah Louise Kimball met with Dr. E. S. Clark in his office at No. 16 Geary Street, San Francisco.

Col. Hubbard was made Chairman and the meeting resolved itself into a Society to be known as the California Genealogical Society."

Page 2. "February 19th, 1898, meeting held at same place

and hour as the meeting of the previous week and completed organization by the election of the following officers, namely:

President: Dr. Edward S. Clark,
 Vice President: Col. A. S. Hubbard,
 Corresponding Secretary: Miss Sarah Louise Kimball,
 Recording Secretary: T. A. Perkins Esq.,
 Librarian: Mrs. Walter D. Mansfield,
 Treasurer: T. W. Hubbard."

This staff of officers continued in office until the death of Dr. Clark on May 29, 1900, whereon Col. Hubbard acted as President until the election of Mr. Herbert Folger at the annual election of 1903.

It was during the time that Col. Hubbard presided that he conceived the idea of consolidating his practically inoperative society, the California Historical Society, with the California Genealogical Society. At the meeting at which the proposal to consolidate the two societies and their libraries was introduced, both Horace Davis and Col. Hubbard spoke in favor of it. To effect the consolidation it was necessary to amend the constitution of the Genealogical Society.

Page 63. Jan. 4, 1902. "Mr. Teggart moved that a committee be appointed to consider the proposition of enlarging the scope of the society, seconded by Mrs. W. D. Mansfield and on a vote the motion carried, whereon the President appointed Mr. Teggart, Mrs. Mansfield and Mr. Robt. E. Cowan as such committee."

Page 66. Feb. 1. "Mr. Teggart chairman of committee on enlarging scope of the society reported that the name of the publication about going to press should be entitled 'California Historic-Generalogical Register.' Report received, and on motion duly made and seconded was duly adopted."

Page 69. Mar. 1. "Mr. Teggart, chairman of committee to enlarge scope of the society, offered an amendment to the constitution as follows:

- 1st.—Change the name of the society from its present form to 'California Historic-Generalogical Society' and
- 2nd.—add to objects of the society, 'and California Local History'

and gave notice that he would move the adoption of these amendments to the constitution at the Quarterly General Meeting of the society to be held in July, 1902."

Page 73. July 12. "Under unfinished business, the question of amending the constitution was put to a vote and the amendments were unanimously adopted."

Thus it was that the Historical Society was consolidated with the Genealogical Society under the composite title of "California Historic-Genealogical Society." This state of affairs continued until the fire of April 18, 1906, at which time the entire library of this society was destroyed and it ceased to function until February 16, 1908.

After the consolidation the following circular was prepared and issued, which has the new form of seal showing the composite title:

CALIFORNIA HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

The purposes of this organization are, to collect, preserve, and disseminate information on Genealogy and California Local History; to ascertain the location and condition of the various public and private records, which are or may become accessible to students of Genealogy and American History; and, to aid investigations of this nature by combining the efforts and resources of its members. It seeks to direct public attention to the value of complete and exact records, and to emphasize the necessity of unremitting care in their collection and preservation.

The society will publish and exchange genealogical and historical information.

Meetings are held quarterly on the first Saturday in January, April, July and October of each year.

Members are required to file with the Corresponding Secretary a chart or diagram, showing the various lines of their ancestry, as far as known. Charts will be furnished upon application.

The society is composed of resident, honorary, and corresponding members.

In pursuance of the objects herein mentioned, the society desires your co-operation, and cordially invites you to become a member. May 1, 1903.

Following the fire the first meeting of the society was held at the Fairmont Hotel on Feb. 16, 1908, where a reorganization was effected, officers elected, plans for restoring a library were formed and a determination to live down the disaster of the fire created. After discussion, it appeared that the strictly genealogical section was of the most importance, that a divided interest would be more than the officers could successfully carry on, and that the upbuilding of a new library

would be all that could be successfully accomplished. It was therefore moved and adopted that the society resume its original name of California Genealogical Society, and leave the field open to a future revival of the California Historical Society, as a sister society, whenever time and personnel should be available. The original seal was therefore again used and a circular issued under its original title.

During the existence of the dual form, the society issued one important publication known as publication No. 3, a well-edited and well-printed work of 86 pages, containing the following important items: I. Edward Stephens Clark, M. D., With Portrait, By William E. Loy; II. Spanish Press of California, (1833-1844), Robert E. Cowan; III. The Boston Nation, Zoeth S. Eldredge; IV. The Utility of a Pedigree, Stephen S. Herrick; V. Meles of Hawaii, H. B. Phillips; VI. A California Pioneer, (José Francisco de Ortega and his descendants), Zoeth S. Eldredge; VII. Thomas Pope of Plymouth and His Descendants, Overton Choules Pope; VIII. Notes of the Millikan Family, Millard F. Hudson; IX. A Few of the Descendants of John Wilgus, Edgar Hobart; X. George Hull and Some of His Descendants, Clinton T. Hull; XI. Announcement; XII. Contributions to the Library; XIII. Notes and Queries; XIV. Historical Intelligence including Genealogies in Preparation; XV. Index to Names and Places. This publication is now practically unobtainable, all the reserve stock having been destroyed in the fire.

Very truly yours,
HENRY BYRON PHILLIPS,
Librarian,
California Genealogical Society.

KIT CARSON IN CALIFORNIA

No small amount of Kit Carson's fame is due to his exploits in California. The romantic and stirring interest which surrounds his name was first aroused when his overland and Californian adventures were chronicled in the writings of Fremont and Emory, for whom he acted as guide and scout across the uncharted West.

From his home in Taos, New Mexico, Carson made no less than six journeys to the Pacific, and engaged in events which brought California under the wing of our republic, participating in the Bear Flag revolt and in Fremont's military activities during 1845-46. He guided Kearny's army of the West down the Gila and across the Colorado Desert and played a notable part in the battle of San Pasqual. As official messenger he carried to the States the first news of the acquisition of California, and two years later, news of the gold discovery. He helped establish the direct route across the Great Basin followed by the emigrants of 1846 and the gold rush days. All this gives Christopher Carson a lasting place in the pioneer history of California.

On his first far western journey, in 1829-30, as a junior member of Ewing Young's band of beaver trappers, Carson traversed that part of Arizona and California now crossed by the Santa Fé Railroad, and was one of the first Americans to cover this entire route. But little is known of Young's first expedition. Practically all we have is the short notice by the veteran fur-hunter, J. J. Warner, who wrote of this from hearsay (*Reminiscences of Early California, 1831 to 1846*. Hist. Soc. of Southern Calif. Vol. VII, 1909, pp. 176-193), and the account which Carson himself has left us.

Carson dictated the story of his life as far as the year 1858 to his friend Col. DeWitt Clinton Peters. The original manuscript, in the handwriting of Col. Peters' wife and signed by Carson, was discovered in 1905 by Col. Peters' son among the effects of his brother in Paris. This manuscript, the one which Col. Peters used in writing his well known "Life of Kit Carson," is now in the Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library in Chicago, and we quote from it at length, partly because the fact that Carson accompanied Young has been

questioned in Bancroft's History, and partly because Carson gives a more exact record of Young's route than have Warner and Peters.

Carson says—"I left Santa Fé for Taos shortly after my arrival from El Paso, and got employment of Mr. Ewing Young to do his cooking, my board being the remuneration. In the spring [1828] I once more departed for the States, met a party on the Arkansas, and again returned to Santa Fé. I then was employed by Col. Trammell, a merchant, as interpreter. I accompanied him to Chihuahua and then hired with Robert McKnight to go to the copper mines near the Rio Gila. I remained at the mines a few months driving team. I was not satisfied with this employment, took my discharge and departed for Taos, arrived in August 1828.

Some time before my arrival, Mr. Ewing Young had sent a party of trappers to the Colorado of the West. They, in a fight with the Indians, were defeated, having fought all one day, and gaining no advantage, they considered it prudent to return. Young then raised a party of forty men, consisting of Americans, Canadians and Frenchmen, and took command himself. I joined the party which left Taos in August 1829.

In those days licenses were not granted to citizens of the United States to trap within the limits of the Mexican territory. To avoid all mistrust on the part of the Government officers, we travelled in a northern direction for fifty miles, and then changed our course to southwest, travelled through the country occupied by the Navajo Indians, passed the village of Zuni, and on to the head of the Salt River, one of the tributaries of the Rio Gila.

We, on the head waters of the Salt River, met the same Indians that had defeated the former party. Young directed the greater part of his men to hide themselves, which was done, the men concealing themselves under blankets, pack saddles, and as best they could. The hills were covered with Indians, and, seeing so few, they came to the conclusion to make an attack and drive us from our position. Our commander allowed them to enter the camp and then directed the party to fire on them, which was done, the Indians losing in killed some fifteen or twenty warriors, and a great number of wounded. The Indians were routed, and we continued our march and trapped down the Salt River to the mouth of San

Francisco river, and up to the head of the latter stream. We were nightly harassed by Indians. They would frequently of nights crawl into our camp, steal a trap or so, kill a mule or horse, and endeavor to do what damage they could.

The party was divided on the head of San Francisco River; one section to proceed to the valley of Sacramento in California, of which I was a member, and the other party to return to Taos for the purpose of procuring traps to replace those stolen, and to dispose of the beaver we had caught. Young took charge of the party for California consisting of eighteen men.

We remained a few days after the departure of the party for Taos, for the purpose of procuring meat, and making the necessary arrangements for a trip over a country never explored. Game was very scarce. After remaining three days continually on the hunt to procure the necessities we had only killed three deer, the skins of which we took off in such a manner as to make tanks for the purpose of carrying water. We then started on our expedition in the best of spirits, having heard from the Indians that the streams of the valley to which we were going were full of beaver, but the country over which we were to travel was very barren, and that we would suffer very much for want of water; the truth of which we very soon knew.

The first four days march was over a country, sandy, burned up and not a drop of water. We received at night a small quantity of water from the tanks which we had been fortunate to have along. A guard was placed over the tanks to prohibit anyone from making use of more than his allowance. After four days travel we found water. Before we reached the water the pack mules were strung along the road for several miles. They having smelt the water long before we had any hopes of finding any, and then each animal made the best use of the strength left them after their severe sufferings to reach the water as soon as they could. We remained two days. It would have been impracticable to have continued the march without giving the men and animals rest they so much required.

After remaining encamped two days we started on our expedition, and for four days travelled over a country similar

to that which we travelled over before our arrival to the last water. There was not any water to be found during this time, and we suffered extremely on account of it. On the fourth day we arrived on the Colorado of the West, below the great Cañon. It can better be imagined, our joy, than described when we discovered the stream.

We had suffered greatly for want of food. We met a party of the Mohave Indians and purchased of them a mare, heavy with foal. The mare was killed and eaten by the party with great gusto; even to the foal was devoured. We encamped on the banks of the Colorado three days, recruiting our animals and trading for provisions with the Indians. We procured of them a few beans and corn. Then we took a southwestern course and, in three days march, struck the bed of a stream which rises in the coast range, has a northeast course, and is lost in the sands of the Great Basin. We proceeded up the stream for six days. In two days after our arrival on the stream we found water. We then left the stream and travelled in a westerly direction and, in four days, arrived at the Mission of San Gabriel.

At the Mission there was one priest, fifteen soldiers, and about one thousand Indians. They had about eighty thousand head of stock, fine fields and vineyards, in fact it was paradise on earth. We remained one day at the Mission, received good treatment of the inhabitants, and purchased of them what beef we required. We had nothing but butcher knives to trade, and for four they would give a beef.

In one day's travel from this Mission, we reached the Mission of San Fernando having about the same number of inhabitants, but not carried on [on] as large a scale as the one of San Gabriel. We then took [a] northwest course and passed the mountains to the valley of the Sacramento. We had plenty to eat and found grass in abundance for our animals. We found signs of trappers on the San Joaquin. We followed their trail and, in a few days, overtook the party and found them to be of the Hudson Bay Company. They were sixty men strong, commanded by Peter Ogden. We trapped down the San Joaquin and its tributaries and found but little beaver, but game plenty; elk, deer, and antelope in thousands. We travelled near each other until we came to the Sacramento; then we separated, Ogden taking up the Sacramento and for

Columbia river. We remained during the summer. Not being the season for trapping, we passed our time in hunting.

During our stay on the Sacramento a party of Indians of the Mission of San Rafael ran away and took refuge at a village of Indians who were not friendly with those of the Mission. The priest of San Rafael sent a party of fifteen Indians in pursuit. They applied for assistance from a village that was friendly, and were furnished with the number they required. They then moved towards the village where the runaways were concealed, demanded them to be given up, which was refused. They attacked the village and after a severe struggle they were compelled to retreat. They came to us and requested assistance. Mr. Young directed me and eleven men to join. We returned to the village and made an attack, fought for one entire day. The Indians were routed, lost a great number of men. We entered the village in triumph, set fire to it and burned it to the ground.

The next day we demanded the runaways and informed them that if not immediately given up we would not leave one of them alive. They complied with our demands. We turned over our Indians to those from whom they had deserted and we returned to our camp.

Mr. Young and four of us proceeded with the Indians to San Rafael. We took with us the beaver we had on hand. We were well received by the missionaries. At the Mission we found a trading schooner, the Captain of which was ashore. We traded with him our furs and, for the money, purchased horses of those at the Mission. Shortly afterwards a party of Indians during the night came to our camp, frightened our animals and ran off some sixty head. Fourteen were discovered in the morning. Twelve of us saddled up and took the trail of the lost animals, pursued them upwards of one hundred miles into the Sierra Nevada. We surprised the Indians when feasting of[f] some of our animals they had killed. We charged their camp, killed eight Indians, took three children prisoners and recovered all our animals, with the exception of six that were eaten, and returned to our camp.

On the first September we struck camp, and returning by the same route which we had come, passing through San Fernando, we travelled to the Pueblo of Los Angeles, where the Mexican authorities demanded our passports. We had none.

They wished to arrest us, but fear deterred them. They then commenced selling liquor to the men, no doubt for the purpose of getting the men drunk so that they would have but little difficulty in making the arrest. Mr. Young discovered their intentions, directed me to take three men, all the loose animals, packs, etc., and go in advance. He would remain with the balance of the party and endeavor to get them along. If he did not arrive at my camp by next morning, I was directed to move on as best I could and on my return to report the party killed; for Young would not leave them. They were followed by the Mexicans, furnishing them all the liquor they could pay for. All got drunk except Young.

The Mexicans would have continued with them till they arrived at the Mission of San Gabriel, then, being re-inforced, arrest the party, only for a man by the name of James Higgins dismounting from his horse and deliberately shooting James Lawrence. Such conduct frightened the Mexicans, and they departed in all haste, fearing that, if men without provocation would shoot one another, it would require but little to cause them to murder them.

About dark Young and party found me. The next day we departed and pursued nearly the same route by which we came, and in nine days we arrived on the Colorado. Two days after our arrival on the Colorado at least five hundred Indian warriors came to our camp. They pretended friendship, but a such large number coming, we mistrusted them, and closely watched their manœuvres. We discovered where they had their weapons concealed, and then it became apparent to us that their design was to murder the party. There were but few of us in camp, the greater number being out visiting their traps. I considered the safest way to act was not to let the Indians know of our mistrust and to act in a fearless manner. One of the Indians could speak Spanish. I directed him to state to the Indians that they must leave our camp inside of ten minutes. If one should be found after the expiration of that time, he would be shot. Before the expiration of the ten minutes everyone had left.

We trapped down the south side of [the] Colorado river to tide water without any further molestation, and up the north side to the mouth of [the] San Pedro. Near the mouth of the San Pedro we saw a large herd of animals, horses, etc.

We knew that Indians were near and, not having forgot the damage these same Indians done, we concluded to deprive them of their stock. We charged their camp. They fled, and we took possession of the animals.

The same evening we heard a noise, something like the sound of distant thunder. We sprung for our arms and sallied out to reconnoiter. We discovered a party of Indians driving some two hundred horses. We charged them, firing a few shots. The Indians run, leaving us the sole possessors of the horses. Those horses had been stolen by the Indians from Mexicans in Sonora.

Having now more animals than we could take care of, we concluded to dispose of them to best advantage. We chose out as many as we required for riding and packing purposes, killed ten, dried the meat to take with us, and left the balance loose. I presume the Indians got them.

We continued up the Gila to opposite the copper mines. We went to the mines, found Robert McKnight there, left our beaver with him. We could not bring it to the settlements to dispose of on account of not having license to trap in Mexican territory. We concealed our beaver in one of the deep holes dug by the miners. Young and I remained a few days at the mines, the balance of the party had started for Taos. Young and I went to Santa Fé. He procured a license to trade with Indians on the Gila. He sent a few men to the mines to get the beaver he had concealed. They got it and returned to Santa Fé. Everyone considered he had made a fine trade in so short a period. They were not aware that we had been months trapping. The beaver was disposed of to advantage at Santa Fé, some two thousand pounds in all. In April 1830 [1831] we had all safely arrived at Taos."

The route from the headwaters of the San Francisco or Verde River in Arizona to the Mohave River in California is not certain. The party probably did not see the Grand Canyon as Peters and Sabin claim. They "discovered the stream"—the Colorado—"below the great Cañon." The oasis which the mules scented the fourth day on the desert was probably along the rivulet called by Sitgreaves, Yampai Creek, near the present stations Truxton and Hackberry. If the trappers had gone farther south they would have encountered many streams and the rough country about the headwaters of Bill Williams Fork

and would have followed this water to the Colorado without striking out into the desert again. If they had gone farther north they would have found no water that the mules could have smelt at any distance. The Colorado was reached four days' march from the Mohave, near the present site of Camp Mohave or the Needles, probably the former, since the dry parts of the Mohave river were reached after traveling southwest.

Carson's statement that the party returned to Taos in April 1830 is an error. The trappers left New Mexico in the fall of 1829 and "remained during the summer" of 1830 in the Sacramento Valley. Bancroft's California manuscript records show that Young was at San José on July 11, 1830, and was near Los Angeles on the way home, October 7. Bancroft also says that the runaway Indians were from the Mission of San José in Alameda county, California, rather than from San Rafael.

But little is known of Peter Skene Ogden's trip into the San Joaquin Valley in 1829. Warner tells us that after the rescue of Jedediah Smith, Ogden was sent out from Fort Vancouver by Governor McLoughlin of the Hudson's Bay Company to proceed up the Columbia and Lewis rivers and to go south until he should find the trail made by Smith on his first trip into the Tulare and San Joaquin Valleys. This was done to tap the beaver country reported by Smith, and to anticipate any future efforts Smith should make in this region with American trappers.

Ogden's journals (reported by Miss Agnes C. Laut in "The Conquest of the Great Northwest") record this expedition as having advanced by way of Salt Lake and the Humboldt River almost to Mt. Shasta, when it was turned back to Fort Vancouver, May 1829, by hostile Indians from the Pit River.

Ogden told these Indians that in three months they would see him again and here his journals end. The San Joaquin trip, mentioned by Carson, is not elsewhere recorded except by Warner, who confused the Great Basin expedition of 1828-29 with this one in the late fall of 1829. Warner says Ogden remained in the valley about eight months, gathered a valuable pack of furs and left for Oregon upon the trail made by McLeod, who had entered the Shasta region the previous year.

Of the eighteen men whom Carson says accompanied Young to California we know the names of only six. A correspondent of *Adventure Magazine* (May 3, 1921) claims that a relative of his, Captain Levi Scott, went with Carson to California "back before the Mexican War."

Young's expedition of 1829 opened the eyes of the Americans in New Mexico to the possibilities of trade with the Californians and furnished the incentive for Young's second trip in 1831-32 and the opening of the Wolfskill or Spanish Trail from Los Angeles to Santa Fé.

After the return to Taos, Carson occupied himself for over thirteen years by hunting and trapping in the Rocky Mountains, and he did not visit California again till the time of the Fremont expedition of 1844. He says of his first meeting with the explorer: "It had been a long time since I had been among civilized people. Went and saw my friends and acquaintances [in Howard county, Missouri], then took a trip to St. Louis, remained there a few days and was tired of remaining in the settlements. Took a steamer for the Upper Missouri and, as luck would have it, Colonel Fremont, then a Lieutenant, was aboard of the same boat." This was just before Fremont's first expedition in 1842, which Carson accompanied as guide and hunter. He joined Fremont again in 1843 at Bent's Fort, having met the expedition quite by accident at that place. He thought he would have a talk with Fremont, and his object as he says was "not to seek employment. . . . But when Fremont saw me again and requested me to join him I could not refuse, and again entered his employ as guide and hunter."

During the exploration of the Great Salt Lake Fremont determined to risk a trip to the island now on the Lucin cut-off and called by his name. He "arranged the India Rubber boat. Myself [Carson] and four others accompanied him. Were landed safely We ascended the highest mountain and under [a] shelving rock cut a large cross which is there to this day.

Next morning started back. Had not left the island more than a league behind when the clouds commenced gathering for a storm. Our boat leaking wind kept one man continually employed at the bellows. Fremont directed us to pull for our lives [telling us] if we did not arrive on shore before the storm commenced we will surely all perish. We done our best and

arrived in time to save ourselves . . . in [an] hour the waters had risen eight or ten feet."

After the arrival at Fort Vancouver Carson continues: "In the meantime Fitzpatrick joined [us]. We started for Klamath Lake. A guide was employed and [we] arrived there safe and found a large village of Indians. . . . We pronounced them a mean, low-lived, treacherous race. Which we found to be a fact when we were in their country in 1846.

Here our guide left us, and we struck for California. Our course was through a barren, desolate and unexplored country till we reached the Sierra Nevada which we found covered with snow from one end to the other. We were nearly out of provisions, and cross the mountains we must, let the consequences be what they may. We went as far in the snow as we possibly could with animals, then was compelled to send them back. Then we commenced making a road through the snow. We beat it down with mallets. The snow was six feet on the level for three leagues. We made shoes [and walked] over the snow to find how far we would have to make a road. Found it to be the distance afore stated.

After we reached the extremity of the snow, we could see in the distance the green valley of the Sacramento and the Coast Range. I knew the place well, had been there seventeen years before. Our feelings can be imagined when we saw such beautiful country.

Having nothing to eat but mule meat, we returned to the place from which we had sent back our animals, and commenced our work of making the road. In fifteen days our task was accomplished. Sent back for the animals. They had, through hunger eaten one another's tails and the leather of the pack saddles, in fact everything they could lay hold of. They were in a deplorable condition and we would frequently kill one to keep it from dying; then use the meat for food.

We continued our march and by perseverance in making the road (for the wind had drifted the snow and in many places filled up the path which we had made) we finally got across and then commenced descending the mountain. Then we left Fitzpatrick in charge of the main party, Fremont, myself and five or six men, went ahead to Sutter's Fort for provisions.

The second day after leaving Fitzpatrick, Mr. Preus[s],

Fremont's assistant, got lost. We made search for him, travelled slowly, fired guns so that he could know where we were. We could not find him. In four days the old man returned. Had his pockets full of acorns, having had no other food since he left us. We were all rejoiced at his return, for the old man was much respected by the party.

We arrived safely at Sutter's Fort, three days after the return to camp of Mr. Preus[s]. When we arrived at the Fort we were naked and in as poor a condition as men possibly could be. We were well received by Mr. Sutter and were furnished in a princely manner everything we required by him. We remained about a month at the Fort [and] made all the necessary arrangements for our return, having found no difficulty in getting all we required.

About the first of April, 1844, we were ready to depart. During our stay at the Fort two of our party became deranged, I presume from the effects of starvation, and through receiving an abundance. One morning one of them jumped up [and] was perfectly wild. [He] inquired for his mule. It was tied close to him, but he started to the mountains to look for it. After some time, when his absence was known, men were sent in search of him. [They] looked through all the neighborhood, made inquiries of the Indians, but could hear nothing of him. [We] remained a few days awaiting his return, but as he did not come in, we departed. [We] left word with Sutter to make search, and if possible, find him. He done so, and, sometime after our departure, he was found. [He] was kept at the Fort and properly cared for until he got well, and then Mr. Sutter sent him to the States.

We took up the valley of the San Joaquin on our way home, we crossed the Sierra Nevada and Coast Range, where they join,—a beautiful, low pass, continued under the Coast Range till we struck the Spanish trail, then to the Mohave river, a small stream that rises in the Coast Range and is lost in the Great Basin. [We then went] down it to where the trail leaves the Mohave River. [Illegible sentence] We arrived early on the Mohave where we intended leaving it.

In the evening of the same day a Mexican man and boy came to our camp. They informed us that they were of a party of Mexicans from New Mexico, [that] they and two men and women were encamped a distance from the main party herding

horses, that they were mounted, the two men and women were in their camp, that a party of Indians charged on them for the purpose of running off their stock. They told the men and women to make their escape, that they would guard the horses. They ran the animals off from the Indians, left them at a Spring in the desert about thirty miles from our camp. We started for the place where they said they left their animals, found that they had been taken away by the Indians that had followed them.

The Mexican requested Fremont to aid him to retake his animals. He [Fremont] stated to the party that if any wished to volunteer for such purpose they might do so, that he would furnish animals for them to ride. Godey and myself volunteered with the expectation that some men of our party would join us. They did not. We two and the Mexican took the trail of [the] animals and commenced the pursuit. In twenty miles the Mexican's horse gave out. We sent him back and continued on. Travelled during the night, it was very dark. Had to dismount to feel for the trail. By sign we became aware that the Indians had passed after sunset.

We were much fatigued—required rest, unsaddled, wrapped ourselves in the wet saddle blankets and laid down. Could not make any fire for fear of it being seen. Passed a miserably cold night. In the morning we arose very early, went down in a deep ravine, made a small fire to warm ourselves, and as soon as it was light we again took the trail.

As the sun was rising [we] saw the Indians two miles ahead of us, encamped having a feast. They had killed five animals. We were compelled to leave our horses, they could not travel. We hid them among rocks, continued on the trail, crawled in among the horses. A young one got frightened, that frightened the rest. The Indians noticed the commotion among the animals [and] sprung to their arms. We now considered it time to charge on the Indians. They were about thirty in number. We charged. I fired, killing one. Godey, fired, missed, but reloaded and fired, killing another. There was only three shots fired and two [Indians] were killed. The remainder run. I then took the two rifles and ascended a hill to keep guard while Godey scalped the dead Indians. He scalped the one he had shot and was proceeded towards the one I had shot. He was not yet dead and was behind some rocks. As

Godey approached, he raised, let fly an arrow. It passed through Godey's shirt collar. He again fell and Godey finished him.

We gathered the animals, drove them to where we had concealed our own, changed our horses and drove to camp and safely arrived. Had all the animals, with the exception of those killed [by the Indians] for their feast.

We then marched on to where the Mexicans had left the two men and women. [The] men we discovered dead,—their bodies horribly mutilated. The women, we supposed, were carried into captivity. But such was not the case for a party, travelling in our rear, found their bodies very much mutilated and staked to the ground.

We continued our march and met no further molestation till we arrived on the Virgin [River], where the trail leaves it. There we intended to remain one day, our animals being much fatigued. We moved our camp a mile further on.

In looking among the mules a Canadian of the party missed one of his mules. He started back for the camp to get it, knowing that it must have been left. He did not inform Fremont or any of the party of his project. In a few hours, he was missed. Those of the horse guard said he had gone to our last camp, to look for his mule. I was sent with three men to seek him. [We] arrived at the camp [and] he could not be found. [We] saw where he fell from his horse. [A] great deal of blood was seen. [We] knew that he was killed, searched for his body but it could not be found, followed the trail of his animal to where it crossed the river. [We then] returned to camp [and] informed Fremont of his death. He, in the morning with a party, went to seek the body—searched some time but without success. I was grieved on account of the death of the Canadian. He was a brave, noble-souled fellow. I had been in many an Indian fight with him and I am confident, if he was not taken unawares, that he surely killed one or two [Indians] before he fell.

We now left the Virgin, keeping to the Spanish trail, till we passed the Vega of Santa Clara, then [we] left the Spanish trail, struck towards the Utah Lake, crossed it, and went to the Winty [Uintah] River, thence to Green River, Brown's Hole, then to Little Snake River, to the mouth of St. Vrain's Fork.

We then crossed the point of mountain and struck the Laramie River below the New Park. [We] passed the New and [journeyed] on into the Old Park. From there [we travelled] to the Balla [Bayou] Salado, the headwaters of the south fork of the Platte, then to the Arkansas River where it leaves the mountains, down it to Bent's fort. We arrived at Bent's fort July 1844, and remained till after the 4th. Then Fremont and party started for the States and I left for Taos.

On the 4th of July Mr. Bent gave Fremont and party a splendid dinner. The day was celebrated as well, if not better, than in many towns of the States."

The route of this expedition has been sufficiently described in Fremont's reports and memoirs and in Dellenbaugh's "Fremont and '49." If there ever was the slightest doubt at just what point the Sierras were crossed from the east, it has been removed by the discovery of Kit Carson's name and the date, 1844, cut in an old pine at the very summit of Carson Pass on the divide between the American River and West Carson Canyon. According to the Stockton Record (April 2, 1921), the tree was cut down in 1899 and the date slab removed to Fort Sutter. A bronze memorial tablet has been placed at the summit of the pass. *

The date of arrival at Fort Sutter is confirmed by an entry in Captain John A. Sutter's Diary (San Francisco Argonaut, Jan. 26, 1878): "March 6, 1842 [1844]. Cap't Fremont arrived at the port [fort] with Kit Carson, told me that he was an officer of the U. S. and left a party behind in Distress and on foot, the few surviving Mules was packed only with the most necessary, I received him politely and his Company likewise as an old acquaintance. the next morning I furnished them with fresh horses, a Vaquero with a pack Mule loaded with Necessary Supplies for his men."

Carson's part in the third Fremont expedition and the events which followed is of peculiar interest. It was at this period that he performed his greatest services and for some of his activities then he has been considerably censured. Referring to this trip Carson says—

After the return to Taos in 1845 "Dick Owens and I concluded that, as we had rambled enough (that) it would be advisable for us to go and settle on some good stream and

make us a farm. We went to Little Cimмерon, about forty-five miles east of Taos, built ourselves little huts, put in considerable grain, and commenced getting out timber to enlarge our improvements. [We] remained there till August of same year.

The year previous, I had given my word to Fremont that, in case he should return for the purpose of making any more exploration, that I would willingly join him. He reached Bent's fort about the 1st of August made inquiries where I was, and heard of my being on the Cimмерon. [He] sent an express to me. Then Owens and I sold out for about half it was worth, and we started to join Fremont, and we both received employment."

At the crossing of the Desert of the Great Salt Lake they pioneered the route known later to the emigrants as the "Hastings Cut-Off." In Carson's words—

"Fremont was bound to cross. Nothing was impossible for him to perform if required in his explorations.

Before we started it was arranged that at a certain time of [the] next day he would ascend the mountain near his camp, have with him his telescope, so that we could be seen by him, and if we found grass or water, we should make a smoke, which would be a signal to him to advance. We travelled on about sixty miles, no water or grass, not a particle of vegetation could be found (as level and bare as a barn floor) before we struck the mountains on the west side of the Lake. Water and grass was there in abundance. The fire was made. Fremont saw it and moved on with his party. Archambeau started back and met him when about half way across the desert. He camped on the desert one night, and next evening at dark, he got across, having lost only a few animals."

The Sierras were crossed near Donner Lake, on the path which the Stevens-Townsend emigrant party of 1844 had traversed with wagons, and along the route later followed by the unfortunate Donner party and the Central Pacific Railway. Carson says Fremont went up the Carson River, but this is an evident mistake.

Before crossing the mountains Talbot and Walker with most of the men and animals were sent south, as the season was late, to enter the San Joaquin Valley thru the low Walker

Pass and Kern Valley. Fremont, Carson and a small outfit took the more direct route in order to procure needed supplies from Fort Sutter and the intention was then to send a relief to the southern party.

This relief according to Carson "Went up the San Joaquin valley, crossed [it] where it comes out of the mountain, and then on to King's River; up it to the headwaters. During our march from snow and travelling over rocks our cattle became very tender footed. From the head of King's River [probably the North Fork] we started back for the prairie and when we arrived we had no cattle, they having all given out. [We] had to leave behind all except those we killed for meat. As we were getting from the mountains some Indians crawled into our camp and killed two of our mules. . . . Arrived at the fort safely. All were afoot. Lived principally on the meat of wild horses that we killed on the march."

Fremont's troop then left for San José, where they met Walker and Martin who had been sent out as messengers from the Talbot-Walker division which had remained encamped eighteen days at Walker Pass—(Martin MS., D122 Bancroft Library). Carson who, with Owens, was dispatched to look for Talbot's party, says—"We met them on the San Joaquin, guided them to San José."

Carson's mistake in taking the King's river route was due to Walker's misunderstanding of the meeting place. Walker, who had been in the San Joaquin Valley twelve years previously, had mistaken the Kern for the King's River, and had given the relief expedition a needless trip thru the High Sierras of the King's River in the roughest sort of country at a time of year (October) when the snow was beginning to fall and the nights were icy cold. This is the earliest recorded trip into this part of the Sierra Nevada. The narrative continues—

"After we had all got together we set out for Monterey to get an outfit. When we arrived within about 30 miles of Monterey, Fremont received a very impertinent order from General Castro, ordering him to immediately leave the country, and if he did not, that he would drive him out.

We packed up at dark, moved back about 10 miles to a little mountain, found a good place, and made a camp. General Castro came with several hundred men and established his

headquarters near us. He would frequently fire his big guns to frighten us, thinking by such demonstrations he could make us leave.

We had in the party about forty men armed with rifles. Castro had several hundred soldiers of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry. Fremont received expresses from Monterey from Americans advising him to leave, that the Mexicans were strong and would surely attack us. He sent them word that he had done nothing to raise the wrath of the Mexican Commander, that he was in the performance of a duty, that he would let the consequence[s] be what they may, execute a retreat he would not.

We remained in our position on the mountain for three days, had become tired of waiting for the attack of the valiant Mexican general. We then started for the Sacramento River, up it to Peter Lawson's, there Fremont intended getting his outfit for the homeward trip. [We] remained some ten days. During our stay at Lawson's, some Americans that were settled in the neighborhood came in stating that there were about 1000 Indians in the vicinity making preparations to attack the settlements. [They] requested assistance of Fremont to drive them back. He and party, and some few Americans that lived near, started for the Indian encampment. Found them to be in great force, as was stated. They were attacked. The number killed I cannot say. It was a perfect butchery. Those not killed fled in all directions, and we returned to Lawson's. Had accomplished what we went for and given the Indians such a chastisement that would be long before they ever again would feel like attacking the settlements.

We remain[ed] some time at Lawson's, received the best of treatment, and finished [getting together] our outfit. Started for the Columbia River."

Bancroft notes that "Fremont's return to the coast [Monterey] seemed utterly inconsistent with his previously announced designs." Carson's statement that they intended going there "to get an outfit" seems plausible in view of the losses sustained in the Sierras and the failure of those in charge at Fort Sutter to supply the commander with everything he needed (cf. Bidwell, *Century Magazine*, Vol. 19, New Series, p. 518), however, the expedition had been recruiting in the vicinity of San José for over a month. Fremont's own stated reasons for

a southwesterly movement have been vague and contradictory. Carson seems particularly careful thruout his narrative to refrain from political discussion and the impression is gained that he knew considerably more about his good friend, the Captain, than he thought desirable to tell. Martin's manuscript gives a detailed account of the Indian butchery near Peter Lassen's—an affair too unnecessarily revolting to prompt repetition here.

The trip north from Lassen's to the Klamath Lakes took fourteen days. The route as determined on modern U. S. G. S. maps from Fremont's recorded observations of latitude, elevation and topography led away from the Sacramento river at the mouth of Battle Creek, thence to the North Fork of Cow Creek (April 27), on past Round Mountain to Montgomery Creek, up this to the divides west and south of Burney Butte across the valley of Hat Creek to the Pit River between Beaver Creek and Horse Valley (April 29), up Pit River to four miles north of Lookout (April 30), thence by a long dry march to the southeastern corner of Tule Lake (May 1), around the east side of the lake to the Lost River in Poe Valley (May 4), across the Link River at or just below the lower end of Upper Klamath Lake, up Long Lake Valley to the second small stream north of Aspen Lake (Denny's Branch, where the Indians made their first surprise attack on May 9), thence around the eastern border of the Upper Klamath Lake as far as Cherry Creek (called by Fremont, Ambuscade Creek) where camp was made May 7. The next day Gillespie's messenger arrived and Fremont took a few men and went back to meet the officer. Subsequent events, altho they have been told and retold, may bear repetition in Carson's own words—

"A few days after we left [Lassen's], information was received in California that war was declared between the United States and Mexico. Lieutenant Gillespie, U. S. Marines, and six men were sent after us to have us to come back. He had travelled about three hundred miles. His animals were giving out and the rate he was travelling he had but poor hopes of overtaking us. He then concluded to mount two men on his best animals and send them in advance. They came up to us on the Lake, gave the communications to Fremont, and he having but poor faith in Klamath Indians, feared the situation of Gillespie and party, [and] concluded to go and meet him. [He] took ten picked men, travelled about sixty miles, and met him encamped for the night.

He sat up till 12 or 1 o'clock reading the letters which he had received from the States; Owens and myself were rolled in our saddle blankets laying near the fire, the night being cold. Shortly after Fremont had laid down I heard a noise as of an axe striking, jumped up, saw there were Indians in camp, gave the alarm. The Indians had then tomahawked two men, [Basil] Lajeunesse and a Delaware, and were proceeding to the fire where four Delawares were lying. They heard the alarm, Crane, a Delaware, got up, took a gun, but not his own. The one he got was not loaded. He was not aware of it [and] kept trying to fire. Stood erect—received five arrows in the breast, four mortal [wounds]. Then fell.

The evening before I fired off my gun for the purpose of cleaning it. [I had] accidentally broken the tube—had nothing but my pistol. Rushed on him, fired, cut the string that held his tomahawk. Had to retire, having no other [weapon]. Maxwell fired on him, hit him in the leg. As he was turning, Step fired, struck him in the back, [the] ball passing near the heart, and he fell. The balance of his party then run. He was the bravest Indian I ever saw. If his men had been as brave as himself, we surely would all have been killed. We lost three men and one slightly wounded. If we had not gone to meet Gillespie, he and party would have been murdered. The Indians evidently were on his trail for that purpose. We apprehend[ed] no danger that night, and the men being much fatigued no guard was posted. It was the first and last time we failed in posting guard. Of the three men killed Lajeunesse was particularly regretted. He had been with us in every trip that had been made. All of them were brave, good men. The only consolation we had for the loss was that, if we had not arrived, Gillespie and his four men would have been killed. We lost three so two lives had been saved.

After the Indians left, each of us took a tree, expecting they would return. We remained so posted until day light. We then packed up, took the bodies of the dead and started for [the] camp of the main party.

Had proceeded about ten miles. Could not possibly carry the bodies any further. [We then] went about half a mile (of) [away from] the trail and interred them, covering the graves with logs and brush, so that there was but little probability of their being discovered. [We] would have taken the

bodies to our camp, but on account of the timber being so thick the bodies knocked against the trees and becoming much bruised, we concluded to bury them when we did. We met our camp this evening, they had received orders to follow our trail. Camped for [the] night, next morning only to go a few miles. Left 15 men in our old camp, concealed for the purpose of discovering the movements of the Indians. We had not left more than half an hour when two Indians came. They were killed and in short time their scalps were in our camp. Fremont concluded to return to California, but [decided to] take a different route from that [by], which we had last entered the country, by going on the opposite side of the lake. We were now encamped on a stream of the lake nearly opposite to the place where we were encamped when we had the three men killed. In the morning I was sent ahead with ten chosen men, with orders that, if I discovered any large village of Indians, to send word and in case I should be seen by them for me to act as I thought best.

I had not gone more than ten miles [when] I discovered a large village of about 50 lodges and, at the same time by the commotion in their camp I knew that they had seen us, and considering it useless to send for reinforcements, I determined to attack them, charged on them, fought for some time, killed a number and the balance fled.

Their houses were built of flag, beautifully woven. They had been fishing [and] had in their houses some ten wagon loads of fish they had caught. All their fishing tackle, camp equipage; etc. was there. I wished to do them as much damage as I could, so I directed their houses to be set on fire. The flag being dry it was a beautiful sight. The Indians had commenced the war with us without cause, and I thought they should be chastised in a summary manner. And they were severely punished.

Fremont saw at a distance the fire, [and] knowing that we were engaged, hurried to join us, but arrived too late for the sport. We moved on about two miles from where the Indian village had been, and camped for the night. After encamping Owens and twenty men were sent back to watch for Indians. In an hour he sent us word that 50 Indians had returned to camp, I suppose to hunt their lost, and bury their dead. As soon as the information was received Fremont, with

six men, started to him, taking a route different from that which Owens had taken, so as to keep concealed. As we got near the camp [we] only saw one Indian. As soon as he was seen we charged him. I was in advance. Got within ten feet of him. My gun snapped. He drew his bow to fire on me. I threw myself on one side of my horse to save myself. Fremont saw the danger in which I was, run his horse over the Indian throwing him on the ground, and before he could recover he was shot. I consider that Fremont saved my life, for, in all probability, if he had not run over the Indian as he did, I would have been shot. We could find no more Indians, and fearing that the party seen by Owens had returned to attack our camp, we returned. Arrived, but the Indians did not make an attack.

Next morning we struck out for the Valley of the Sacramento, about four days march. Maxwell and Archambeau were travelling parallel with the party, about three miles distant, hunting. They saw an Indian coming towards them. As soon as the Indian saw them he took from his quiver some young crows that were tied thereon, concealed them in the grass, and continued approaching. As soon as he was within forty yards he commenced firing. They did not intend to hurt him, wishing to talk, but the Indian keeping up a continuous fire and having shot rather close, they were compelled through self defence to fire on him. They done so and [at] the first shot he fell, [and] was immediately scalped.

We kept on till we struck the Sacramento, and in passing down the river there was ahead of us a deep and narrow cañon. The Indians supposing that we would go through it, placed themselves on each side for the purpose of attacking us as we passed. But we crossed the river and did not go into the cañon.

Godey, myself, and another man, I have forgotten his name, took after them. We were mounted on mules. They could not be caught. One man, brave[r] than the rest, hid himself behind a large rock and awaited our approach. We rode up near him. He came from his hiding place and commenced firing arrows very rapidly. We had to run back, being kept so busy dodging from his arrows, that it was impossible to fire. Retreated from the reach of his arrows. I dismounted and fired. My shot had the desired effect. He was scalped. [He] had a

fine bow and beautiful quiver full of arrows, which I presented to Lt. Gillespie. He was a brave Indian [and] deserved a better fate, but he had placed himself on the wrong path.

Continued our march, and next day, in the evening, Step and another man had gone out to hunt. We had nothing to eat in our camp. [Were] nearly starving. They saw an Indian watching the camp. I presume he was waiting so that he might steal a mule. They gradually approached him—he was unaware of their presence—and, when near enough, fired. He, receiving his death wound and then was scalped. The hunters returned having found no other game. We kept on our march to Peter Lawson's, had no difficulty on the route. Then [went] down the Sacramento to the Buttes. Here camp was made to await positive orders in regard to the war, and to hunt."

Fremont's leisurely movements, his side trip into the northwestern part of the Sacramento Valley and return to Lassen's, and his slow rate of travel (about twelve miles a day) on the way to Klamath Lake give one the impression that he was in no hurry to leave California and was trying to kill time and keep within striking distance of the settlements.

Carson gave a verbal account of the night fight on Denny's Creek to a Washington newspaper. This is the one quoted in Lancey's "Cruise" (San José Pioneer, Feb. 1, 1879—Apr. 2, 1881) and in Sabin. Fremont tells us that the Indians showered arrows on the little party during the remaining hours of darkness and that the men hung blankets from the trees to protect themselves. Carson later told Captain Johnston (in Emory, Notes of a Military Reconnaissance to San Diego in California, 1848, p. 579) "that he never knew how fine a weapon the bow and arrow was until he had them fired at him in the night; at that time they are more sure than firearms for they are fired by the feel."

Martin in his recollections says "Capt. Owens who was sleeping with me was the first to give the alarm. He woke me saying 'I think I hear someone groaning,'" etc. Martin also gives a story of the fight, mentioned by Carson, at the village—

"As we rounded the head of the lake we saw on the other side of the lake, nearly opposite where our camp had been attacked, some smoke arising.

Fifteen of us under Kit Carson were sent forward to re-

connoitre. Upon nearing the vicinity of the smoke we ascended a ridge to get a better view. From here we saw a village but a short distance away which had been hidden from us by a high bank. The Indians discovered us at the same time. Between the village and us there lay a small river whose shores were skirted with willows, among which we could see the Indians on the same side we were on. Kit Carson proposed that we should charge down on them without waiting for the arrival of the rest of the company. We accordingly dashed down the side of the ridge at a breakneck pace but before we reached the river they had all crossed to the opposite side in canoes. On the other side they made a stand and shot at us with their arrows but they did us no harm as the river was at this point about 120 yards wide which required the elevating of their arrows to reach us. We opened fire and killed some 20 or more before they broke and run.

The river being too deep to cross here we started upstream until Carson shouted, 'Here is a good place,' whereupon we all jumped our horses off the bank 3 or 4 feet high into the river. Instead of shallow water we found it from 8 to 12 feet deep and as a matter of course all of us went over our heads . . . got our powder wet and we would have been in a fine fix if the rest of our party had not arrived at this moment."

Fremont's route led him around the north end of the Upper Klamath Lake by way of 3 mile (Corral) creek (May 11), and 7 mile (Torrey) creek (May 12). Leaving the lake at Naylox they reached the Pit River at Horse Creek (Russell's Branch—May 19), thence across country to Hat Creek near Great Spring (May 20), up over Noble Pass just north of Lassen Peak and down into the headwaters of the North Fork of Battle Creek (May 21). May 30, 1846, found the expedition encamped at the southeastern base of the Marysville Buttes in what is now Sutter county. This camp, "by invitation" says Ide, was a general rendezvous for excited visitors representing the American population of that part of California. Many things had contributed to the habitual restlessness of the mountain men, trappers and pioneer settlers,—Castro's threatening orders to Fremont at the Gavilan, the sudden return of the explorer following the arrival of Gillespie with what everyone supposed were secret instructions, the posting of proclamations requiring the expulsion of Americans from the Department of California, groundless rumors that Spanish Californians were inciting the

Indians to attack settlers and their crops, knowledge of Castro's military preparations—all of this drew the American settlers to Fremont's camp to ask his advice and his cooperation in proposed resistance to the government.

Tipton Lindsey (*Overland Monthly Magazine*, 2d Series, vol. 27, pp. 218-228) has recorded the narrative of George W. Williams, one of the participants in the Bear Flag affair. Williams' statement credits Carson with having led the attack on the horses of the Spanish lieutenant Arce, but this is highly questionable. Sutter says (*Personal Reminiscences*, Calif. MS. D 14, Bancroft Library): "Merrit, a mountaineer, formerly a long time with me, but now with Fremont, came to me . . . and told me he was going to seize those horses [Arce's] for Fremont, which he did."

Bancroft mentions several accounts of the horse raid. None of these agree as to details, number of horses, men, etc. Williams is the only one who says that Carson was a member of the raiding party. Others claim that Swift or Ezekiel Merritt led the volunteers. The rather unreliable Martin states—

"Fremont called us together and told us that we were going to take the country and called for volunteers to go and capture this band of horses. Fallon told us that we would probably find them on the Mocasomy [Mokelumne River]. That evening 15 of us under Capt. Swift went and caught them at daylight next morning. We arrested 17 men, 14 officers and 2 privates and 1 citizen . . . We took back with us about 400 head of horses and returned to Johnson and Kaisers ranch on the Bear river."

Ide (*Scraps of California History*) reports that when he visited Fremont's camp on the evening of June 10, asking the Captain for advice and assistance, "several persons, among whom was Kit Carson, begged of Fremont their discharge from the service of the exploring expedition that they might be at liberty to join us. This was peremptorily refused. Fremont in my hearing expressly declared that he was not at liberty to afford us the least aid or assistance." Unless Ide's date is incorrect, it is not easy to see how Carson could have been present on the horse raid, which occurred on the 10th. Carson does not mention the incident. His narrative continues—

"A party was sent from here [Camp on Feather River at the "Hock Farm"] to surprise Sonoma, a military post. They

captured it, took one General [M. G. Vallejo] and two Captains [Prudon and Salvador Vallejo] prisoners, several cannon and a number of small arms. After the Fort had been taken Fremont had heard positively of the war being declared. [He] then marched forward to Sonoma and found it in the possession of the men he had sent in advance.

During our stay here, General Castro ordered one of his Captains [de la Torre] and a large force from San Francisco to attack us and drive us from the country. He came over, found two of our men [Fowler and Cowie] (that were carrying news to the settlers that Sonoma was taken and that war was declared) whom he brutally murdered. He found that we were anxious to meet him and commenced his retreat. We followed him six days and nights. He could not be found. He made his escape, leaving his animals, and he reached San Francisco and from there to [the] Pueblo of Los Angeles—Castro joining him—their object being to reorganize their forces.”

A large part of what Carson says regarding Castro's movements was popular hearsay of the time and is inaccurate. Fowler and Cowie, the two murdered men, had been sent out from Sonoma to get a barrel of powder from Moses Carson, Kit's brother, who was a foreman at the Fitch rancho of Sotoyome on the Russian River where Healdsburg is now situated. On the way they were set upon by a guerilla band of Californians, in no way connected with de la Torre's outfit, and were, according to report, foully murdered (Bancroft, *Hist. Calif.* vol. 5, p. 160-161). The alleged manner of their death enraged the Americans who later, under Carson, adopted an almost equally brutal means of retaliation. Ide, the Bear Flag commander at Sonoma despatched H. L. Ford with a small force to pursue Padilla, supposed to be on the Marin peninsula, and rescue prisoners thought to be in his hands. A fight occurred at Olompali and de la Torre, who had joined Padilla's forces, being worsted, retreated toward San Rafael. The Americans went back to Sonoma. Fremont now put in a belated appearance (June 26), joined the Bear Flag forces, marched to San Rafael and, not finding de la Torre, peacefully billeted himself in the Mission buildings, establishing his outposts on the surrounding hills (Bancroft, *loc. cit.* Martin, *loc. cit.*).

Martin who claims to have been on guard says: “I discovered a boat come in and run up a small creek. I reported it

and 5 of us went out and captured 3 officers that had come over to join de la Torre. They were asked if they had any dispatches and they said no. We shot them then and there and upon searching their bodies found dispatches which we took to Fremont."

Jasper O'Farrell (Los Angeles Star, Sept. 27, 1856,—quoted from Bancroft), a reliable witness, later testified that Kit Carson was in charge of the squad that murdered the three Californians. He said Carson claimed to have done the deed unwillingly by Fremont's order. "After starting Carson turned back . . . to ask Fremont, 'Captain shall I take those men prisoners.' The reply, given with a wave of the hand, was, 'I have no room for prisoners.' This agrees with statements which Carson made a few days later to 'his' friend Wm. Boggs of Napa (Ide, *Scraps of California History*). Boggs says—

"The celebrated Kit Carson killed the first one. He discovered and reported them to Fremont, his superior officer, as prisoners his squad had taken, and asked him what he should do with them. F's reply to Carson was that he 'had no use for prisoners; but do your duty.'

Kit returned in company with one or two others of Fremont's command, killed an old Mexican and his two sons. This circumstance was related to me by Kit Carson himself in my house at Sonoma where he visited me. I knew Kit Carson in the Rocky Mountains and he and my brother were intimate friends at Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas River, where they were traders with the various tribes of Indians on the Plains—their traffic being in buffalo robes and peltries.

Carson was a bold and daring man when an emergency required, and as gentle as a lamb when engaged in peaceful pursuits. I told him I did not approve of that act of retaliation; that he should have pursued the guilty ones . . . But Kit Carson had been trained to Indian warfare and its customs were deeply impressed on his mind at an early age."

The significant truth of this last statement may be checked against the meagre accounts we have of Carson's boyhood. He himself says—

"I was born on the 24th of December, 1809 in Madison county, Kentucky. My parents moved to Missouri when I was one year old. They settled in what is now Howard county.

For two or three years after our arrival we had to remain fortified, and it was necessary to have men stationed at the extremities of the fields for the protection of those that were laboring."

An important account of Carson's early surroundings is that of Wm. F. Switzler (*Missouri Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. 2, pgs. 35-45), who obtained his information from Kit's sister, Mrs. Mary Rubey.

Carson's family, who associated and intermarried with the Boones, were Kentucky people of the hardest frontier type. It has been stated that Kit himself was a grandson of Daniel Boone, but this is not correct. Kit Carson's niece, Mrs. Fannie O. Avery of Winsor, Missouri, in a letter to me confirms the genealogy recorded by Sabin in his book "*Kit Carson Days*."

Fremont returned to Sonoma on June 29 and found the garrison prepared to resist Castro's expected arrival. According to Ide the advent of Fremont's men in the early dawn caused a general alarm and Ide himself stood prepared to give the signal, "Fire!" to the impatient gunners who waited with matches burning. Just then the "well known voice of Kit Carson" cried out "My God! They swing the matches" and a near tragedy was soon forgotten in a comic mock-charge by the troops of Fremont and Ford. Fremont immediately left for San Rafael again on the lookout for de la Torre, only to find that the Spaniard had made good his retreat across to San Pablo in an old launch "stolen by permission" from Richardson, the Englishman, at Sausalito.

Fremont took "twelve of his best shots" including Carson and crossed to San Francisco, then Yerba Buena. Wading ashore, the gunsmith, Stepp, spiked, with professional skill, the cannon in the abandoned Castillo at Fort Point.

The fourth of July found the whole crowd back in Sonoma enjoying Vallejo's wine and declaring the independence of California. Carson proceeds with his narrative—

"Fremont left a strong force at Sonoma. All the American settlers by this time had joined him. He then departed for Sutter's fort, and arrived safe. He placed the fort under military command. Left General Vallejo's, the two Captains and an American named Leace [Leese] (brother-in-law to the General), as prisoners there, in charge of the gentleman, to whom

he gave the command. [He] then departed to Monterey. It had been taken before our arrival, by the navy, under command of Commodore Sloat. A few days after our arrival Sloat left, and Stockton assumed the command. Here we learned that General Castro had made his escape, [and] had gone to Los Angeles to organize. We found that we could not catch the Mexicans by following them on land, so Fremont proposed, if furnished a frigate, to take his men to San Diego. He then [would] get animals and go drive the Mexican troops from Los Angeles. The frigate *Cyane* was furnished him, com'd. by Captain Dupont, a noble-souled fellow. In four days, [we] arrived at our destination. Our forces were landed 150 strong. Sufficiency of horses could not be procured at San Diego. Men were sent to scour the country [and to] press into service [the] horses. We finally were mounted [and] started for Los Angeles."

At the request of Sloat, who had raised the flag on July 7, Fremont left for Monterey, going by way of the San Joaquin Valley and probably Pacheco Pass, stopping on the 17th at San Juan where he joined Sloat's dragoons and arriving at Monterey on the 19th. Here his dusty column of ragged and bristly-bearded mountain men presented a wild spectacle for the peaceful inhabitants to gaze upon.

William F. Swasey (Calif. MS. D 200 Bancroft Library) says that at Monterey the Englishmen of the Collingwood visited Fremont's camp out of curiosity to see the frontiersmen, and begged the latter "to give them an exhibition of their skill with the rifle, and for this purpose they put up as targets Mexican dollars to be shot at, at a hundred and fifty yards off hand, each man hitting the dollar to become possessor of it." The young Englishmen soon found that there was a scarcity of coin in their pockets.

Among the Americans were Kit Carson, Joe Walker, Alexis Godey, Dick Owens, Jerome Davis, Pruett St. Clair, and Dr. Robert Semple. The latter was a well educated versatile man with a mind much above the ordinary. He was slim, six feet eight inches high, and dressed in scanty buckskins presented a ludicrous appearance. "His pants were so short, by having become wet and shrunk, that they came just below the knee and were fastened round his moccasins with a strap He was so ungainly that the men used to say that when he was

mounted upon a mule, he was compelled to wear his spurs upon the calves of his legs in order to reach the mule's belly. There was a little man on Bear River by the name of Johnson, who was scarcely five feet high, and Captain Sutter remarked, when he first saw Semple: 'By Jupiter! There vash a man so tall that if he spread his legs apart, Johnson run right troo him.'"

Fremont found that Sloat wished to escape the responsibility for conducting further conquests and Stockton having no such compunctions succeeded him. Fremont sailed on July 26 and reached San Diego on July 30, according to Carson's reckoning. A garrison was left at San Diego and the start for Los Angeles was made August 8. Here, says Carson: "The Mexicans having heard of our approach, though they were 700 strong, fled. The General, Governor, and other officers, for Sonora, the balance to all parts, [just] so they did not come in contact with Americans.

We arrived within a league of the town, awaited a short time, and Stockton, agreeably to the plan arranged before our departure from Monterey, arrived with a party of sailors and marines. The sailors and marines were as brave men as I ever saw, and for the Commodore, it is useless for me to say anything, as he is known to be the bravest of the brave.

We took possession of the town, remained some time, and on the 5 Sept. [18]46, I was ordered to Washington as bearer of despatches, having with me 15 men.

I was ordered to go to Washington in 60 days, which I would have done if not directed by General Kearny to join him. When I got within 10 miles of the Copper Mines I discovered an Apache village. It was about 10^o a. m. They were at war. I knew that by staying where we were we would be seen, and, if we endeavored to pass them, they would also see us. So I had a consultation with Maxwell and we came to the conclusion to take for the timber and approach them cautiously, and if we were seen, to be as close as possible to them at the time of the discovery. We kept on, had arrived about 100 yards of their village when they saw us. They were somewhat frightened to see us. We said we were friends, were en route to New Mexico, [and] wished to trade animals. They appeared friendly. We chose a good place for our camp. They visited us and

we commenced trading and procured of them a remount which was much required, our animals all having nearly given out.

We then started and in four days arrived at the first of the settlements. At our departure from California we had only 25 lbs. of dried meat, having a quantity of pinola. At the River village we got some corn. We would dry the corn by the fire, parch the corn, then eat it. Not having other food during our trip we suffered considerably for food.

On the 6th of October, [18]46, I met General Kearn(e)y on his march to California. He ordered me to join him as his guide. I done so and Fitzpatrick continued on with the despatches.

On the 18th [15th] of October we left the Rio Del Norte, December 3d [2nd] arrived at Warner's Ranch, and marched on for San Diego. On the 6th we heard of a party of Californians encamped on our route, probably one hundred in number. When we arrived within ten or fifteen miles of their camp, General Kearn(e)y sent Lieutenant Hammond with three or four Dragoons ahead to examine their position. He went, was accidentally discovered, [and] saw the encampment as reported. They were in an Indian village. He then returned to us and gave the information found. The General then determined to attack them. We packed up about one o'clock in the morning and moved on. When within a mile of their camp we discovered their spies that were out watching the road, and our movements. The trot and then the gallop was ordered to pursue the spies. They retreated to their camp.

I was ordered to join Captain Johnston. He had fifteen men under his command. We were to proceed in advance. Our chief object was to get the animals belonging to the Californians. Captain Moore, having a part of two companies of Dragoons and a party of twenty-five volunteers that had come from San Diego, was ordered to attack the main body. They were attacked, only fought about ten or fifteen minutes, then they retreated. When we were within 100 yards of their camp, my horse fell, threw me and my rifle was broken into two pieces. I came very near being trodden to death. Being in advance the whole command had to pass over me. I finally saved myself by crawling from under them. I then ran on about 100 yards to where the fight had commenced. A Dragoon had been killed, I took his gun and cartridge box

and joined the mêlée. Johnston and two or three of the dragoons were then killed. The Californians retreated, pursued by Moore for about three quarters of a mile. Moore had about 40 men mounted on horses, the balance on mules.

Two or three days before, we heard of a party of Californians that were en route to Sonora. Lieutenant Davidson and twenty-five dragoons and I were sent to surprise them. Done so and captured 70 or 80 head of animals, from which Moore got some 40 horses that were gentle and on which he mounted his men. The command in the pursuit had got very much scattered. The enemy saw the advantage, wheeled and cut off the forty that were in advance, and out of the forty killed and wounded thirty-six. Captain Moore [was] among the slain, also Lieutenant Hammond. General Kearn(e)y [was] severely wounded and nearly every officer of the command was wounded.

Lieutenant Davidson, in charge of two Howitzers, came up. Before he could do anything every one of his party were killed or wounded, and one piece taken by the enemy. They captured it by lassoing the horse, fastening the lasso to the saddle and then running off. They got about 300 yds. and endeavored to fire it at us, but could not. It was impossible for Lieutenant Davidson to do anything, having lost all his men, and one piece, and was himself lanced several times through the clothing, and one [ball] passing through [the] cantle of his saddle, which if the Californian had not missed his aim he also would be numbered among the slain.

We rallied in a point of rocks near where the advance had been defeated, remained there that night, the reason [being we did] not dare move on, and having a number of dead to bury. The dead were buried at the hours of 12 or 1 o'clock that night.

Next day we moved on. I had command of about 15 men and was ordered in advance. Marched about seven miles. During the night the Californians had received reinforcements. They were now about 150 strong. During the day they would show themselves on every hill ahead of us.

Late in the evening we [were] still on the march, being within about 400 yards from the water where we intended to camp. They then charged on us, coming in two bodies. We were compelled to retreat about 200 yds. to a hill of rocks that

was to our left. After we had gained our position on the hill, the Californians took another hill, about 100 yards. still to our left, and then commenced firing. Captains Emory and Turner took the command of what dragoons we had, charged the enemy on the hill, routed them, giving us full possession of their position. There [we] remained for the night.

The day on which we had the first fight, Kearn(e)y had sent three men as [an] express to San Diego to Commodore Stockton. This morning they had returned within five hundred yards of our camp. Were taken prisoners by the enemy in our sight. The day previous the horse of a Mexican Lieutenant was shot and he [was] taken prisoner. The parley was sounded and then [they] exchanged the Lieutenant for one of our men that was prisoner.

The place on which we were stationed had barely water enough for the men to drink. We had nothing to eat but mule meat. The animals were turned loose. As soon as any would get from the reach of our guns, they would be driven off by the enemy. The Mexicans had command of the water,—probably about 500 yds. in advance. Kearn(e)y concluded to march on let the consequences be what they would. About 12 o'clock we were ready for the march, the wounded in ambulances [in litters on mule back]. The enemy, seeing our movements, saddled up, formed in our rear about 500 yds., the men being placed about 10 feet apart so that our artillery could do them but little damage.

Kearn(e)y had a council with his officers, they all knew that, as soon as we would leave the hill, we would again have to fight and, in our present condition it was not advisable. They came to the conclusion to send for reinforcements to San Diego. Lieutenant Beale, of the navy, and myself, volunteered to undertake to carry the intelligence to Stockton.

As soon as dark we started on our mission. In crawling over the rocks and brush our shoes making noise we took them off; fastened them under our belts. We had to crawl about two miles. We could see three rows of sentinels, all ahorseback, we would often have to pass within 20 yards of one. We got through, but had the misfortune to have lost our shoes, had to travel over a country, covered with prickly pear and rocks, barefoot.

Got to San Diego the next night. Stockton immediately

ordered 160 or 170 men to march to Kearn(e)y's relief. They were under the command of a Lieutenant, [and had] one cannon, which was drawn by the men by attaching to it ropes.

I remained at San Diego, Lieutenant Beale was sent aboard of frigate Congress; had become deranged from fatigue of the service performed, did not entirely recover for two years.

The next night the reinforcements reached Kearn(e)y. They lay by during the day, travelled by night. The enemy, however, discovered their approach, then fled. Kearn(e)y and [the] party then joined and moved on to San Diego having no further molestation."

The date Carson gives as the start of his first great ride is doubtless correct. Bancroft would put it somewhat earlier, but Richman (California under Spain and Mexico) plausibly assumes that Carson was not sent till after Fremont had received appointment as military commandant on September 2. Carson went from Los Angeles nearly to Santa Fé in thirty-one days and as he said later, wore "out and killed thirty-four mules" doing so. From remarks made to Capt. Johnston on the return trip to California we know that Carson led Kearny back over nearly the same trail he had selected on the way east. This is the route down the Gila and across the lower Colorado Desert shown on Emory's map. Johnston's report (In Emory, loc. cit. p. 572-614) contains many references to incidents of both the eastward and the return journeys.

The "Copper Mines" were old diggings on the headwaters of the Mimbres River in New Mexico where Carson worked for McKnight in 1828. Carson had traversed nearly this entire route with Young on his return to New Mexico from California in 1831.

Carson met Col. Kearny on October 6, about three miles south of Socorro, New Mexico, and less than 150 miles from his own family in Taos. We can appreciate Kearny's desire to engage Carson as guide when we refer to a note on p. 571 of Johnston's report under date of October 5. "We had considerable discussion this evening about the route to the Gila; the guide we engaged had not contemplated the difficulties beyond the point where he struck the Gila, and he inclines to go 18 miles south of the Copper Mines."

Carson never forgave General Kearny for turning him

back from his mission. Two years later he gave Senator Benton a long statement of his grievances, at the close of which he remarks, true friend of Fremont that he was:

"This statement I make at the request of Senator Benton, but had much rather be examined in a court of justice, face to face with General Kearney, and there tell at once all that I know about General Kearney's battles and conduct in California."

Bancroft is inclined to blame Carson for Kearney's disaster at San Pasqual. The reason for this accusation was a mystery to me till I happened to run across a letter in the Bancroft archives written by John M. Swan in 1875 (Calif. MS. E. 65). Swan says that Carson "according to report told the officers under Gen. Kearney that the native Californians would not fight but that all the Americans had to do was to yell, make a rush, and the Californians would run away. Misled probably by these reports Gen. Kearney left 200 of his dragoons behind him in New Mexico and continued his route with a bodyguard of 100 dragoons. Neither Colton or Tuthill speaks of Kit Carson's report about the native Californians not being willing to fight, and yet I have no doubt of the truth of it, and it was but too common among foreigners, both Americans and others, to talk in the same way."

All that is necessary to refute the remarks of Swan is an examination of Emory's report under the heading, October 6 and 7:

"Came into camp late and found Carson with an express from California, bearing intelligence that the country had surrendered without a blow, and that the American flag floated in every port. . . . [This] news caused some changes in our camp; one hundred dragoons, officered by . . . and a few hunters of tried experience, formed the party for California. Major Sumner, with the dragoons, was ordered to retrace his steps."

Carson as guide was assigned to the advance guard under command of Aide-de-camp Capt. Abraham R. Johnston who was killed at San Pasqual at daybreak on the 6th of December, 1846. Acting on Carson's advice the wagons were exchanged for pack-saddles. Apaches were met at the Copper Mines and, tho they professed great friendship, Carson said "with a twin-

kle of his keen hazel eye 'I would not trust one of them.' " By November 1 the "army" reached the rough country about the lower canyons of the Verde River where the animals were already found to be in a "shattered condition." Near here they met Apaches of the tribe of "Piñon Lanos" who refused to come into camp for fear of the howitzers. Carson finally induced a sole red-skin to abandon his fears while Emory and others remained as hostages in the Indian camp. Presents were distributed and a guide secured to traverse the mountain and avoid a sixty-mile dry march Carson had previously made.

November 19 found them at the point of Bighorn Mountain where Carson shot a doe bighorn (probably the animal figured on the plate opposite page 92 of Emory's Report).

On the 22nd, Dr. Griffin says—"Our men are nearly naked and barefooted, their feet sore and leg-weary. Only the sick have been allowed to ride lately. We are a mile and a half above the mouth of the Gila."

On the 23rd, letters were intercepted containing the important news of the recapture of Los Angeles and Santa Barbara by Flores. A Mexican messenger, a former friend of Carson's, advised them not to think of going on to California with so small a force.

On the 25th, they mounted the wild horses captured from a Mexican train and crossed the Colorado at a ford selected by Carson. Bundles of fresh grass were tied on behind each saddle in anticipation of the frightful desert ahead. The evening of the 26th found them at an old well, the first water in the desert, and insufficient to serve the 250 animals and 150 men who had been famishing for the past 24 hours.

November 27, they arrived at what is now Carrizo Station where "alas the waters were bitter!—bitter!" says Captain Johnston. On the 28th at noon they reached the large sulphur springs (Agua Caliente) on Carrizo Creek; "many animals were left on the road to die. . . . in spite of the generous efforts of the men to bring them in" (Emory).

On the 29th, making but slow progress and with "scarcely a ration left for the men" they followed up the dry bed of Carrizo Creek sixteen miles to beyond "Vallo Citron," or "Ba-you Cita" (Vallecito) Springs, where they halted to recuperate, starting out again on December 1 painfully and slowly over the

mountains to the San Felipe Creek, and arriving the next day at the ranch of Jonathan J. Warner at Agua Caliente.

December 5, Capt. Gillespie, Lt. Beale and thirty-five men came up from Stockton at San Diego with dispatches. Came also reports of the force of California cavalry gathering against them and blocking the approaches to San Diego. Kearny was now at Santa Ysabel (Stokes Ranch).

The battle commenced at dawn on the 6th. Warner (*History of Los Angeles County, 1876*) has given the Spanish version and also an interesting journal of Dr. Griffin, Kearny's surgeon. An account told by an Indian eye-witness is included in Elizabeth Roberts' "Indian Stories of the Southwest." Carson himself described the engagement vividly to Senator Benton, who delivered a speech to the Senate based on Carson's narrative. This speech has lately been reprinted in Stephen Bonsal's "Life of Edward F. Beale."

Carson forgets to mention Beale's Indian orderly who, knowing the trails, reached San Diego first. Unfortunately the Indian was omitted from the commemorative tablet placed in the Smithsonian Institution by California citizens as a memorial to the services of Carson and Beale, bearers of the message for relief. Carson's narrative continues—

"Remained in San Diego about a month or so, till the wounded recovered. Then a force of 600 men were organized and started for Los Angeles under Stockton and Kearn(e)y. There were at Los Angeles about 700 Mexicans.

On the 8th January [18]47, we arrived within 15 miles of Los Angeles. The Mexicans had a good position, being in command of a hill where we had to pass the river. We had two pieces of cannon. Stockton directed them. The Mexicans only stood a few rounds of fire, retreated, and we crossed the river, took possession of the hill, and encamped for the night.

On the 9th we approached within three miles of the Pueblo, having to fight during the day. Nothing however was necessary to be employed but the artillery. They could not make their appearance near us but Stockton, from his unerring aim of his guns, would make them leave.

On the 10th we took possession of the Pueblo. The place was evacuated by the Mexicans. They went to attack Fremont.

He was thirty [miles] distant from the Pueblo, on the march thither with about 400 men that he had raised in the vicinity of Monterey. They met him, would not fight him, [and] surrendered to him in preference to any other of the commanders.

On the 12th, I think, Fremont found us at Los Angeles. We remained there during the winter without any further molestation. As soon as Fremont joined I left Kearney and joined him. In March I started as bearer of dispatches for the War Dept. Lieut. Beale went with me with dispatches for the Navy Department.

Beale, during the first 20 days, I had to lift (him) on and off his horse. I did not think he could live, but I took as good care and paid to him as much attention as could [be] given to anyone in the same circumstances, and he had, before our arrival, got so far recovered that he could assist himself. For my care I was trebly paid by the kindness and attention given me by his mother while I was in Washington.

On the River Gila we were attacked by the Indians. During the night they sent a good many arrows into our camp, but without effect. As soon as they commenced I directed the men to hold before them pack saddles, and not speak a word, so that the Indians could not direct their aim by hearing us. For them not to return the fire, but let the Indians approach, and then use our rifles as clubs.

The Indians did not approach but finding they done no execution they left before morning. And then we continued our journey. Had no further difficulty and arrived at Washington in June.

At St. Louis I had the honor of an introduction to Colonel Benton, and was invited by him (that) during my stay in Washington to remain at his house. I accepted of his invitation and, during the time I was there, received the very kindest of treatment.

I remained in Washington some time, received the appointment of Lieutenant of Rifles U. S. Army from President Polk, and was then ordered back to California as bearer of dispatches. Lt. Beale [went] with me, but, on account of his illness he was compelled to return from St. Louis

Arrived at Los Angeles in October, then went on to Monterey and delivered the dispatches to Colonel Mason, and [the]

Drags., (the officer in command). Remained a few days and was ordered back to Los Angeles."

The skirmish of January 8 occurred at the Paso de Bartolo on the San Gabriel River. The next day's fight has become known as the "Battle of the Mesa." It occurred in the Cañada de Los Alisos, not far from the Los Angeles River. The juncture with Fremont, who arrived from the north, took place on the 14th. This ended the war with the Mexicans but was only the start of disagreement among the American commanders.

Beale's orders from Stockton to carry despatches to the Navy Department were dated Feb. 9, 1847, when he was ordered to join Carson's party. The return trip from Santa Fé westward to the coast was evidently made by the longer and less dangerous Spanish trail north of the Grand Canyon. Returning to Carson's narrative—

"Shortly after my arrival [at Los Angeles], I was assigned to duty with the Dragoons under command of Captain Smith. The greater part of the winter I passed in the Tejon Pass. Had twenty-five men under my command guarding the Pass to prohibit Indians from taking through stolen animals. It being the main pass, they would have to go through in case they committed any depredations.

In the Spring I was again ordered to Washington as bearer of despatches."

This third trip with despatches is the one G. Douglass Brewerton has written of so interestingly (*Harpers Magazine* Aug. 1853, April 1854). The outfit was assembled and drilled at Bridge Creek (Puente), fifteen miles east of Los Angeles, and the start was made May 4. The route was through the Cajon Pass, along the Mohave River and over the Spanish Trail. Some reports say that Carson brought out nuggets and further news of the gold discovery at this time.

California saw nothing more of Carson till 1853. He had settled on a farm at the Rayado, New Mexico, and desirous of doing a little speculating among the California miners, purchased sheep to drive over the long trail he knew so well. He says—

"In February '53, I went to the Rio Abajo and purchased sheep. Returned with them to the Rayado. Then I started for

California. There was with me Henry Mercure, John Bernavette and their employees. We had about 6,500 head of sheep.

Went to Fort Laramie, then kept the wagon road that is travelled by emigrants to California. Arrived about the first of August [Sept. 6], having met with no serious loss. Sold our sheep to Mr. Norris at \$5.50 a head, doing very well.

I heard so much talk of the great change that had taken place at San Francisco, I concluded to go down, and when I arrived I would not have known the place if I had not been there so often before. Maxwell came on shortly after me to California. Disposed of his sheep in Sacramento. But on Carson River he sent to me an express, which I received at Sacramento, requesting me to await his arrival and then we would travel together home by way of the Gila. He arrived. I went down to Los Angeles by land. He took the steamer. I would not travel on the sea, having made a voyage on that in 1846, and I was so disgusted with it that I swore that it would be the last time I would leave sight of land when I could get a mule to perform the journey. [I] arrived safely at Los Angeles, Maxwell having arrived some fifteen days before me. Made the necessary preparations, and then started for New Mexico.

Came to the Pimo village, and on account of the scarcity of grass, we continued up the Gila to the mouth of the San Pedro, up it three days, and from there we took a straight course for the copper mines, and then [we journeyed on] to the Del Norte, thence home through the settlements of the Rio Abajo. Arrived at Taos on Decr. 25th, 1853."

Carson had now achieved a wide reputation and every emigrant had heard his name. The Daily Alta California, a San Francisco paper, of August 9, 1853, has this note in the Sacramento Valley News column:

"A train lately arrived in Sacramento reports passing Kit Carson in Carson Valley on a new road to the Sweetwater which he laid out at that time."

Then on September 5 the San Francisco Herald has the following announcement:

"Kit Carson arrived on the Cosumnes river near Daylor's Ranch on Friday with 1500 head of sheep. The remainder of his herd, 7000, will be in, in a few days."

The Sacramento Union notes his arrival about September 6.

Several relatives of Kit Carson established themselves in California in the early days. At least three of his brothers found their way here. "Mose," Kit's half brother, described by Peters (MS., 1856) as "a man weighing over 200—60 years old—over six feet high with one eye out and minus several fingers—rough and weather beaten from a life on the frontier," came with Young's second party in 1831 and was employed at the time of the Bear Flag revolt as foreman on the Fitch rancho then on the extreme Northwestern Mexican frontier in Sonoma county. He returned to Santa Fé in January 1856. Lindsay, a younger brother, settled in the Russian river country in 1847. Hamilton, slightly older than Kit, was in the Sierras early in the Gold days.

Carson had returned to the Missouri settlement in 1842 to leave his little five year old daughter Adaline, among his relatives. He left her "with one of his sisters, who placed her in Howard's Female College in Fayette, where she was liberally educated," (Switzler—"Kit" Carson,—In Missouri Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. 2, p. 39). Many are the legends regarding her. Some reports say she came to California, died, and was buried at Mono Lake (Sabin, *Kit Carson Days*). Capt. William Drannan, not a reliable informant, told an inquirer that when twenty years old she married a doctor named Jim Calvin, removed to California, and died at her ranch in the Feather River Canyon, near Springville, at the age of 34 (*Adventure Magazine*, March 10, 1922). Adaline was the only child of Kit's first wife, an Arapaho squaw who died soon after the girl was born. Carson later married a New Mexican woman, Maria Josefa Jaramillo. They had eight children.

During the last fifteen years of his life Kit Carson lived almost constantly at Taos with his family. He engaged in campaigns against the Navajo and Ute Indians and against the Kiowas and Comanches at Adobe Walls. After these tribes were subdued Carson in his capacity as Indian Agent became their friend and adviser, understanding their needs and speaking their languages.

He accomplished a number of reforms in the Indian policy of the government, and one of the last acts of his life, performed at the cost of considerable physical pain, was a journey to the East in behalf of the Ute nation.

At this time (1868) he was a very sick man having been trampled by his horse several years previously. As a result of this accident he died at the old army post of Fort Lyon, Colorado, on May 23, 1868. He was taken to Taos and buried there.

Kit Carson was a man of great energy and decision of character, alert, poised, calm in danger, and among the keenest, shrewdest and bravest of experienced frontiersmen. In knowledge of his craft he ranked with such leaders as Bridger, St. Vrain, the Bent "boys," Antoine Leroux, and others among his associates. Yet his appearance was unheroic enough—short and stocky, grey-eyed, blond-haired, and bow-legged. He had however those qualities of modesty, sobriety and strict veracity not proverbially common among the trappers of his day. His kindness and generosity caused at least three "old-timers,"—Oliver Wiggins, "Billy" Ryus, and "Cap't" Drannan, to regard him as their foster-father. Those who knew him well,—General Sherman, General Rusling, General Beale, General Fremont, Mrs. Fremont, Col. Peters and a host of other friends,—respected, honored and loved him. His name will "carry on" as long as our highways and railways follow his trails and our cities cover the ground where he broke the brush for his campfires.

Charles L. Camp.

SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY IN SPANISH AND MEXICAN TIMES

I. LOCATION AND TOPOGRAPHY.

San Luis Obispo County is situated on the coast, approximately half-way between San Francisco and Los Angeles. On the north Monterey County forms its boundary, while on the east the Monte Diablo Range and on the south the Santa Maria River separate it from Kern and Santa Barbara Counties respectively.

Parallel with the coast runs the Santa Lucia Range, uniting in the south with the Monte Diablo, and cutting the county longitudinally into two unequal sections,—on the west a narrow coastal slope, on the east a wide inland basin, much intersected by ridges in its southern portion.

Three principal bays mark the coast line: San Simeon in the north; San Luis Bay near the southern boundary; and, midway between the two, Estero Bay, with its landlocked inlet, Morro Bay, guarded by the famous Morro Rock.

Many streams, most of which rise in the Santa Lucia Range, water the western slope, flowing through deep cañons, thickly wooded with maple, sycamore, oak and pine. North of San Simeon the San Carpojoro Creek, the Arroyo de los Chinos, the Arroyo de la Cruz and the Laguna Creek, find outlet in the Pacific; into San Simeon flow the Arroyo del Puerto and the two Pico Creeks; south of San Simeon are found the San Simeon, Santa Rosa and Villa Creeks; Cayucos, Cottle, Willow, Torro and Islay Creeks enter Estero Bay, while into the Morro lagoon empty the Morro and San Bernardo Creeks, into the latter of which flows the Chorro, with its tributary San Luisito. Los Osos Creek, also emptying into Morro Bay, rises not in the Santa Lucia Range, but in the fertile Los Osos Valley just south of Morro. Three other principal creeks of the coast, the San Luis, the Pismo, and the Arroyo Grande, all find outlet in the bay of San Luis Obispo; in the extreme south the Huasna, rising in the Santa Lucia Range, flows into the Santa Maria River.

Traversing the Cuesta Pass of the Santa Lucia, and the chaparral-covered foothills, one reaches the rolling plains of

the interior basin. Rising in the southern portion and flowing northward through the valley, is the Salinas River, watered by many tributaries from the two divides. Principal of these tributaries is the San Juan, which, rising in the southeast, flows almost the entire length of the county, entering the Salinas near the northern boundary under the name of Estrella Creek. South of the Estrella the San Marcos from the west and the Huer Huero from the east, enter the Salinas; in the central and southern portions of the valley the Atascadero, Paloma, Santa Margarita and Rinconada are the principal tributaries. Fertile soil and gently rolling hills mark the Salinas Valley, changing, in the southern extremity, to a mountainous region, thickly wooded with oak and pine. The rainfall is slight, and the many creeks become, during the summer months, mere beds of dry sand.

East of the headwaters of the San Juan River stretches a high treeless basin, some forty-five miles in length, called the Carrisa Plain. On the east it is bordered by the Monte Diablo Range, and on the west by a sandstone ridge which at its southern end merges into the Santa Lucia. Drainage to the center forms, in winter, a shallow lake which becomes in the dry season a bed of salt and soda deposit. On the western border of this grassy plain rises the interesting Piedra Pintada or Painted Rock, the nature of which will be discussed more fully below.

II. THE ABORIGINES.

According to the classification of H. H. Bancroft, the aborigines of San Luis Obispo belonged to the Central Group of the California Indian.¹ Members of this group were not divided into large tribes as in the south and north, but split up into many small bands, differing in name and often in dialect, but agreeing in manners and customs and in physical appearance.² That several such small tribes or bands existed in San Luis Obispo County is evidenced by the variations in language noted by later settlers. As a rule, these variations marked only different dialects of the same language, but it is interesting to note that traces of a distinctly different language have been found

¹ Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. I, p. 361; Bancroft includes in the Central Group all tribes between 40°30' and 35°.

² *Ibid.* pp. 363-3.

among the Indians near the mouth of the Estrella (the vicinity of the present San Miguel Mission).³

In physical appearance and in moral characteristics the San Luis Obispo Indian was not prepossessing. With squat negro-like nose, yellow-brown skin and low forehead, he presented an unpleasant contrast to the more advanced red man of the eastern states; in order of intelligence he ranked lower than even the Indian of the Northern and Southern California groups. Bancroft speaks of his "bestial laziness"⁴; certainly natural conditions permitted his existence with the minimum of exertion on his part, and beyond bare existence he had no ambitions. He had no knowledge of agriculture, and the contemptuous name of "Digger" bestowed by the white man found its origin in the fact that he was content to subsist upon the roots and seeds that he could dig from the earth or gather from its surface. With sandstone mortar and pestle the squaws pounded to flour dried acorns, and made from it a blackish but not unpleasant-tasting bread, or boiled it into a pudding in water-tight baskets. When the acorn crop was short, the woodpecker was robbed, and from his holes in the oak trees was taken his winter supply of acorns; this, however, was only done in cases of absolute necessity. Clover seeds, from which mush was made, were gathered in a scoop-shaped basket, swept across the tops of the grasses; this, when full, was emptied into a larger basket, carried on the back.

Deer and small game such as rabbits and birds, were shot with bow and arrow; fish and water fowl were caught with net and spear. When such game was scarce, grasshoppers, driven by fire into pits and so caught, formed a much-relished variation from an acorn and grass seed diet. Whether mashed to a pulp and so eaten, or ground to a powder and mixed with mush, they were considered a great delicacy. Some were sundried and stored for winter consumption.

The native dress was simple. As a rule it consisted of no more than a rag about the loins for the male and a short skirt of grass or feathers for the female. In cold weather ad-

³ Hale, *Ethnology and Philology*; also, Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. III, p. 658. Of this language a short vocabulary has been compiled by Mr. Hale; a comparison between it and the language of Santa Cruz Island will be found in *Native Races*, Vol. III, p. 658.

⁴ Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. I, p. 373.

ditional warmth was obtained by wearing the skins of wild animals. Ear ornaments of bone or wood were worn, and sometimes necklaces of shell and beads.

Although not warlike, the San Luis Obispo Indian could not be accused of cowardice. In warfare he used bows, arrows and spears, and sometimes clubs. The arrows were short, of light wood winged with a few feathers and tipped with flint, bone or obsidian, sometimes barbed, sometimes diamond-shaped. The head, fashioned loosely to the shaft, was often painted a specific color by the owner to distinguish it from the arrows of others. The spears were between four and five feet in length, sometimes mineral-tipped like the arrows, sometimes merely pointed and hardened in the fire. Pedro Fages, in his "*Voyage en Californie*," mentions a curved sabre, made of hard wood, edged with flint, and used with much dexterity by the natives "near San Miguel"—probably the San Miguel of San Luis Obispo County.⁵

As a rule the San Luis Obispo Indian ventured little into the waters of the coast. Vancouver, however, notes in the vicinity of the northern extremity of Estero Bay, canoes, hollowed out of wood, and used with "great adroitness" by the natives, who propelled their boats with paddles about ten feet in length. It is possible that the name "Cayucos," applied to this region, finds its origin in the word "cayuco," a dugout, suggested by these dugout canoes.

The dwellings of the native illustrated well his laziness. Usually a few saplings stuck in the ground, bent together at the top, interlaced with reeds and thatched with leaves, suited him admirably as a home. Into this hut crowded all the members of his own family, as well as his relations-in-law. The dwelling was never cleaned: when the interior became so cluttered with decaying fish, old bones and other sickening

5. "It is impossible to locate with certainty the San Miguel of Fages. There are now several places of the name in California, of which the San Miguel in San Luis Obispo County comes nearest to the region in which, to agree with his own narrative, Fages must have been at the time. The cimenter mentioned by him must have strongly resembled the maquahuil of the ancient Mexicans, and it was possibly much further south that he saw it." Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. I, note 101. Costansó, (*Narrative of the Portolá Expedition*, p. 31) mentions a similar "throwing stick" used by the natives of San Diego.

refuse as to revolt even the unfastidious Indian, the hut was burned and another erected.⁶

Such, then, was the Indian of San Luis Obispo at the time of the Spanish occupation—lazy, filthy, of low intelligence and repulsive habits. Some archaeologists, however, find in the relics of the region indications of an older, long-vanished race, possessing a higher degree of civilization than their degenerate successors. Excavations have brought to light weapons, ornaments and domestic utensils showing a skill and ingenuity in manufacture apparently unknown to the savage of the Spanish era. The most interesting relic of the county, and that considered by some the clearest evidence of an ancient semi-civilized race is the above-mentioned Piedra Pintada, or Painted Rock of the Carrisa Plain. Rising some 200 feet above the level of the Plain, this sandstone rock contains on its eastern side a deep roofless chamber, whether hollowed out by Nature or by the hand of the aborigines is still a disputed question. On the perpendicular walls of this chamber appear the extraordinary decorations from which the rock receives its name—crude figures of beasts, reptiles and human beings, painted in brilliant reds, white, and black. These paintings are said (on what authority is vague) to have been in existence when the Spanish first entered the country; of their origin or meaning the modern Indian has neither knowledge nor tradition. Similar unexplained painted rocks appear in Santa Barbara County. To some the figures found thereon seem to bear a resemblance to the picture writings of Mexico, and to indicate an affiliation between a prehistoric California race and the ancient Aztecs. The late Myron Angel regarded the Piedra Pintada as a temple of a race of sun-worshippers, and has left a most delightful book on the subject.⁷

Before leaving the much-discussed question of the existence of this vanished race it may not be amiss to quote the opinion of H. H. Bancroft. In his "Native Races of the Pacific States" this historian says, "There has not been found and reported on good authority a single monument or relic which is sufficient to prove that the country was ever inhabited by any people whose claims to be regarded as civilized were su-

⁶ For the customs, implements, etc., of the San Luis Obispo Indian see Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. I, pp. 361-401; also, Rau, *Archaeological Collection of the Smithsonian Institute*, 1876.

⁷ *The Painted Rock of California; a Legend*. By Myron Angel.

terior to those of the tribes found by Europeans within its limits. It is true that some implements may not exactly agree with those of the tribes now occupying the same particular locality, and some graves indicate slight differences in the manner of burial, but this could hardly be otherwise in a country inhabited by so many nations whose boundaries were constantly changing. I have often heard the Aztec relics of California and Oregon very confidently spoken of. It is a remarkable fact that to most men who find a piece of stone bearing marks of having been formed by human hands the very first idea suggested is that it represents an extinct race, while the last conclusion arrived at is that the relic may be the work of a tribe still living in the vicinity where it was found."⁸

III. THE SPANISH ERA.

For unknown centuries the Indian held the mountains and plains of San Luis Obispo in undisputed possession. In 1542 appeared the first white man, forerunner of the race destined in later days to occupy the coast from San Diego to San Francisco. In this year Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, despatched by the Viceroy of Mexico to explore the northwest coast, entered the southern bay of the county, which he named Todos Santos; continuing northward he noted a deep estuary, which he called Los Esteros, and before it a high rock to which he gave the name of El Moro—a name which it still bears in the anglicized form of Morro Rock. Farther up the coast he noted the rocks still called by his name of Piedras Blancas, and entered yet another bay, named by him Bay of Sardines, and usually identified with San Simeon Bay.

The brief visit of Cabrillo was for many years the only appearance of the white man in San Luis Obispo. Other navigators passed up and down the coast, exploring and naming points to the south and north. Sometimes the Manila galleon sailed by with its precious cargo from the Philippines, while the easily-visible range which served as their landmark was christened the Sierra Santa Lucía; but of the presence of any European on the San Luis shores there is no record for nearly two hundred and fifty years after the advent of Cabrillo.

Then, in 1769, came the occupation of California by the

⁸ Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. IV, p. 688.

Spanish. The reasons for the occupation will not be dwelt upon here; fear of foreign aggression, the need of ports of refuge for the pirate-beset Manila galleons, and a desire to spread the faith of the Catholic Church, were all contributing factors. In July, 1769, the first Spanish settlement of Alta California was made at San Diego; on the 14th of the same month an overland expedition, under command of Gaspar de Portolá left that settlement for the purpose of rediscovering the Bay of Monterey, first explored in 1602 by Sebastian Vizcaino. With the expedition went Fathers Crespi and Gomez; Captain Rivera y Moncada, Sergeant José de Ortega, Lieutenant Pedro Fages, and the engineer Miguel Costansó, all names well known in Californian history. Six Catalonian volunteers under Fages, twenty-six "soldados de cuera" under Rivera and Ortega, several muleteers, two servants, and some Indians from the Baja California missions completed the party.⁹

On September 2 the expedition entered the confines of what is now San Luis Obispo County, camping near a large laguna which was separated from the sea by sand dunes. This spot Costansó named Laguna Redonda, but the soldiers called it El Oso Flaco in honor of a large bear shot in the neighborhood—a name by which the region is still known.

Traversing with difficulty the marshes and sand dunes of the coast the party on September 4 reached the mouth of the San Luis Cañon. Here the explorers were welcomed by a friendly Indian, chief of a large rancheria, whom the soldiers dubbed El Buchon on account of a tumor which hung from his neck. Crespi named this camp San Ladislao, "that he might be its patron and protector until its conversion." However, the more frivolous soldiers called the whole vicinity El Buchon, in honor of its tumor-laden chief; a mountain and an ocean point of the region still bear this name.

The party followed the San Luis cañon for a short distance; tradition says that they reached the site of the present town, but as all the diaries mention that the cañon was abandoned very soon this seems hardly possible. Had the Spanish continued they would have struck the Cuesta Pass, an easy

⁹ The story of the Portolá Expedition of 1769 is found in the diary of Portolá himself and in that of Miguel Costansó, both of which have been published in translation by the Academy of Pacific Coast History; also in the diary of Father Crespi, which Palou has incorporated into his *Noticias de la Nueva California*.

outlet to the Salinas Valley. Knowing nothing of this opening, and fearing that their present route was carrying them too far east, they left the San Luis, and on September 7 reached another cañon which they followed westward to the coast. To this the pious Crespi gave the high-sounding name of Cañada de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora, but the less devout soldiers named it Los Osos, after a troop of bears by which the party was attacked. As in the case of El Buchon, the name bestowed by the good padre was soon forgotten, while that of the soldiers is still retained. At the mouth of the cañon the party came upon an "estero of immense capacity" fronted by a dome shaped rock, both readily recognizable as "Los Esteros" and "El Moro" of Cabrillo. From here the Spaniards marched northward along the coast until, above San Simeon, they found their way blocked by the Santa Lucia, which at this point extends to the coast.

Further progress along the shore-line was impossible, and the explorers were forced to undertake the passage of the mountain range. They entered the San Carpojoro, a narrow, almost impassible cañon, but the only possible route; the march was slow and weary, and it was necessary to employ the entire party with crowbars and pickaxes to clear the road. On September 20 they scaled a high ridge in the hope of finding some more practicable outlet; from the summit they could only see limitless mountain ranges, extending beyond the horizon in all directions. "A sad outlook," comments Costansó, "for these poor travellers, tired and worn out by the fatigue of the journey, by the task of clearing rough passages and breaking roads through hills, woods, dunes and swamps." Many of the soldiers were incapacitated by scurvy, and this threw a double burden on the others. However, despite all hardships the expedition pressed on as best it might, and on the 26th emerged on the eastern side of the range, making camp beside a river named by Crespi Rio de San Elizario, by the soldiers El Chocolate, and by modern geographers, the Salinas.

How Portolá followed the Salinas to its mouth; how he passed without recognition Monterey Bay, and, marching farther north, discovered the Bay of San Francisco, is a well-known story which need not be repeated here. In November the party began the return march, retracing the route by which they had come. On December 16 they began the difficult passage of the Santa Lucia, emerging on the western side on

the 21st. Here, at an Indian village, they picked up one of the soldiers who had deserted during the outward journey.

This was the season of the winter rains, which soon began to fall in such abundance that on Holy Innocents Day the party found itself bogged in a marsh somewhere in the vicinity of San Luis Obispo. So, at least, says Crespí, who appears to have grieved less over the discomfort of the misadventure than over the fact that the situation made the celebration of mass impossible. However, the explorers appear to have extricated themselves eventually, as the next day found them at the rancharia of El Buchon. This friendly chief furnished the hungry soldiers with much-needed provisions, in exchange for which he was presented with some glass beads and other ornaments. The remainder of the march through the county was uneventful.

In the spring of 1770, Portolá again passed through San Luis Obispo County, on his second expedition in search of Monterey Bay, the party following the same route as had been taken before.

In 1772 the county was once more visited by the Spaniards. In this year the arrival of the supply ships from Mexico was delayed, and famine threatened the California settlements. Fages, remembering the abundance of bears in the Cañon de los Osos, organized a hunting party in this region. He slaughtered many of the grizzlies, and by this means not only supplied the settlements with food, but won the gratitude of the natives, who had long been harassed by the bears.

The Spanish occupation of California was both military and spiritual. For defense against foreign invasion or Indian uprisings the secular government erected presidios, or soldiers' posts, at different points along the coast; for the spiritual conquest of the Indian the Franciscan Order, under Father Junípero Serra, established missions where the native might be converted to the faith, instructed in useful arts, fed and clothed. In 1769 a mission and a presidio were established at San Diego; in 1770 similar establishments were made at Monterey; in 1771 the missions of San Antonio de Padua and San Gabriel Archangel were founded. Instructions from the Viceroy and the Visitador-general called for three additional missions. In 1772 Serra found it necessary to journey from Monterey to San Diego, and decided to found one of the required missions on the way, dedicating it to San Luis Obispo de Tolosa. Palou,

Crespí and Portolá had all mentioned the fertility of the Cañada de los Osos and its vicinity, and the Father-President resolved that this should be the location of the new establishment.

Serra, accompanied by Fages and an escort of soldiers, arrived in the latter part of August. The site selected for the mission was a gentle slope, at the foot of which ran the San Luis creek, a stream of sufficient size to supply drinking water to the settlers and irrigation for the mission lands. In the background towered two mountain peaks, to one of which was later given the name of San Luis Mountain, to the other—probably because of the mitre-shaped rock formation which crowns its summit—that of Bishop's Peak.

The ceremony of foundation took place on the first day of September. On the following day Serra departed, leaving the mission in charge of José Cavaller, a padre from San Antonio de Padua. Five soldiers remained to protect the establishment, and two Indians to assist in the labor.¹⁰

The first mission buildings, as was always the case, were rude, hastily constructed shelters. Palou tells us that when Cavaller first set about their erection, he caused a palisade to be constructed, within which were built "a church of timber and tule, and some rooms for the habitation of the padre, with the necessary offices, granary, and also a log and tule house for the soldiers of the mission guard."¹¹ In 1773 Palou brought to the mission five families of Baja California Indians, and for these newcomers huts were erected within the palisade.¹² In the following year there is record of the construction of a new church.¹³

The first years following the foundation of the mission were uneventful, and may be summarized briefly. Cavaller was soon joined by Padre Domingo Juncosa and, later, by Padre Joseph Antonio de Jesus Maria de Murguia—called by Palou and Serra "a model friar"—and Padre Antonio Paterna. The mission lands were put under cultivation, and maize raised in such abundance that Fages in 1775 expressed a belief that the San

¹⁰ Palou, *Noticias de California*; Vida; Bancroft, *Pastoral California*, p. 200.

¹¹ Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 203; Palou, *Noticias de California*.

¹² Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 361.

¹³ Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 239.

these proved so successful that they were adopted by all mission buildings in California.

Apparently the last fire had injured the new church, for in 1793 there is a note of the completion of a new chapel of adobe, with tiled roof. This is the chapel which still stands; the building faces southeast, with the altar at the northwest end. The floor was paved with large square flagstones, of the substance known in the vicinity as Nipoma sandstone, quarried by the Indians from a mountain about thirty miles distant. Recent excavations have been made at the mission by Professor Owen C. Coy, of the State Historical Commission; in his report on these excavations Professor Coy mentions the irregular manner in which the walls are run, some of the right angles being as much as five degrees from true; this he attributes to the fact that the Franciscans worked with crude materials and with the assistance of only ignorant Indians. When one considers the disadvantages under which the poor padres labored, one wonders that they builded as well as they did!

In 1780 there is record of an unusually large crop of maize on the mission lands, with a surplus of 2,000 bushels.²³ The added wealth was probably needed, as in the same year the California establishments were called upon to aid their sovereign with "money and prayers" in the war between Spain and England, and to the fund raised San Luis Obispo contributed \$107.²⁴

In 1791 Padre Bartólome Gili was assigned to the mission, a man, according to report, of scandalously immoral conduct. In 1794 he left, being replaced by Padre Fernandez, whom Mugártgui (now Vice-President of the California missions) described as "un angel," and who therefore probably counteracted the evil influence of his worldly predecessor.

A few neophyte uprisings are reported at this time;²⁵ a certain Ballestero and his wife were rebuked by Governor Borica for seditious talk;²⁶ and a neophyte named Silberio was sentenced to labor at the San Diego Presidio for the murder of his

²³ Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 385.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 547.

²⁶ Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 593.

wife Rebecca.²⁷ With the above exceptions the chronicles for the years 1780-1797 contain nothing of interest.

The year 1797 saw the establishment of the second mission of San Luis Obispo County. The site had been selected in 1795 by Padre Buenaventura Sitjar of San Antonio, Sergeant M. Castro, and Corporal Ignacio Vallejo, being a spot about half-way between San Antonio and San Luis Obispo near the junction of the Estrella and Salinas Rivers, a place called by the natives Vahea and by the Spaniards Los Pozos (The Wells).²⁸ The new mission was founded on July 25, 1797, and dedicated to "Al Gloriosísimo Principe Arcangel San Miguel."²⁹ To its support the missions of San Antonio, San Luis Obispo and La Purísima sent a generous donation of livestock, which included 8 mules, 23 horses, 8 oxen, 128 head of cattle, and 184 sheep. Fifteen children were baptized on the day of foundation, and all augured well for the success of the new establishment.³⁰

However, trouble set in immediately. The mission had been assigned to the charge of Padre Sitjar and Padre Antonio de la Concepcion. The latter had hardly arrived before he gave evidence of a disordered mind. At times he fell into morose silence; at others he broke into shouts of unprovoked laughter. He assumed the manners of a dictator, scolded the mission servants, ordered about the guards, quarreled with Sitjar for not insisting that the natives speak Castilian, and in his first sermon informed these people that the padres as "lords and judges" had come to see that they cease the use of the native dialect and adopt the tongue of their masters. After twenty-seven days of this conduct a complaint was lodged with Father-President Lasuen, who ordered that the padre be shipped back to Mexico, an order in which Borica acquiesced. In Mexico Padre Antonio spent several years stirring up trouble for the Franciscans by memorials to the government accusing them of ill-treatment of the neophytes, disobedience to secular authority and other misdemeanors. Finally, in 1801 he was pronounced insane and sent to his home in Spain. His last public appearance was in Madrid, where, in the royal presence,

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 552; Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 474.

²⁹ Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 482.

³⁰ Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 559.

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³⁰ Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 559.

he distinguished himself by ringing a hand bell and giving vent to pious exclamations.³¹

Meanwhile, the mission of San Miguel had prospered, growing rapidly in wealth and population. The large area in its possession (comprising the northern and eastern lands of the county and, according to some accounts, extending westward to San Simeon) were utilized for the cultivation of wheat and corn, or for the grazing of sheep, large numbers of which were imported by the mission fathers. Vineyards and orchards were also planted, and it is to one of the former, located a few miles north of the mission, that the Vineyard Cañon of Monterey County owes its name. In the cultivation of their fields the padres did not depend upon the uncertain rainfall, but utilized the water of every available spring and stream; on the present Santa Ysabel ranch still exist traces of the irrigation ditches through which water was carried from the springs of this place to the fields and orchards of the mission.

With the Indians of the vicinity the San Miguel missionaries had little trouble. The fifteen baptisms of the first day were followed by others, and in 1799 neophytes numbered 285. However, though the San Migueleños were peaceable and friendly the same could not be said for the Tulareños, a hostile tribe from beyond the Monte Diablo, who frequently conducted raids against the Indians of San Miguel. Padre Juan Martin, the successor of Padre Antonio and Padre Muñoz, another mission priest, made expeditions into the region of the Tulareños in the hopes of winning them to the Christian faith, but as their marauding raids still continued it is probable that the preachings of the good fathers had no lasting effect.

As the mission of San Miguel had prospered, so too had that of San Luis Obispo. The few neophytes of 1773 had, by 1794, increased to the number of 814. As at San Miguel, vineyards and orchards were planted, and flourished well; maize was still the chief crop, but wheat and beans were also raised. At Santa Margarita, which was included in the San Luis Obispo lands, was established an auxiliary mission; here was erected a large adobe building, the ruins of which are still in existence. At one end was a chapel, with lodging rooms for the padre who at harvest time often spent several weeks here, the re-

³¹ Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico*, pp. 179-183.

mainder of the building was divided between rooms for the major-domo, his servants and guests, and a granary for the storing of the mission crops.

The most flourishing period in the history of the mission was during the administration of Padre Luis Antonio Martinez, that notable character in the mission annals. This energetic priest planted olives; he cultivated cotton from which were manufactured garments for the natives; he taught his Indian flock to catch otter; he built a launch which made trips to Santa Barbara; and, finally, he cultivated the mission lands to such good effect that the Santa Margarita storehouse was never empty.³² In addition to all this, he still further enriched the mission by the operation of a gold mine somewhere in the vicinity. Says José de Jesus Pico, in his "Acontecimientos en California," "To several of us Father Luis A. Martinez, in 1829 gave gold; to myself, Raimundo, and Gabriel de la Torre, and Francisco Soto, he made a present of about twenty ounces of gold, not coined but in little balls of one ounce each; because he had much affection for us who had been his pupils and acolytes here in the mission where we learned to chant church music . . . This gold must have been found at the place called San José, near the mission."³³ Quicksilver was also mined.

Martinez himself did not scorn the good things of this life, and tradition says that his table was always laden with the choicest of food and the richest of wines. His love of luxury once got him into trouble with his President, Sarria. Martinez, finding it necessary to travel to San Carlos, took it into his head to make the journey in a fine coach, with two natives, gorgeously attired, serving as coachman and postillion. When Sarria, who was noted for his humility, heard of this audacious display on the part of his subordinate, he delivered to him a severe rebuke—which, one fancies, did not abash the jolly Martinez to any great extent.³⁴

IV. THE MEXICAN REGIME.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century began the downfall of the Spanish Empire in the west. First to declare

³² Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, pp. 199-200.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 200.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 201

their independence were the colonies of South America, but California, still loyal, took no part in the struggle. In 1818, however, news came to San Luis Obispo that insurgents from the province of Buenos Aires, led by the rebel Bouchard, had raided the coast near Monterey, and were now on their way south, presumably to attack Santa Barbara.

Great was the indignation of Martinez on hearing of this attack. To José Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega, comandante at Santa Barbara, he sent some characteristic advice. "Remember the tactics of the Galicians. In the front ranks they placed women, and when the French, who always paid homage to women, advanced, they (the French) quickly abandoned warfare for gallantry. If you wish to conquer the insurgents you must do the same." Then, being a man of action, he gathered about him thirty-five Indians, armed them, and marched them to Santa Barbara, where he turned them over to De la Guerra. There was no battle, for Bouchard changed his plans and sailed away, but Martinez received the special thanks of the king for his conduct in the affair.³⁵

In 1821 Mexico declared her independence from Spain, and in 1823 the insurgent Iturbide was proclaimed emperor under the title of Augustin I. In 1825 a republic was substituted for the empire, with a federal constitution based upon that of the United States, and under this constitution California became a territory of the Mexican Republic.

The Franciscans, while not averse to independence from Spain, opposed the establishment of the Republic, for they realized that the new government would hasten mission secularization. Several padres refused to take the required oath of allegiance, and among these was Martinez. For this reason there was much popular agitation against him; he was accused of having sent away \$6,000 belonging to the mission in preparation for departing himself, and of planning to destroy all mission property before leaving—which stories may or may not have been true.³⁶ In 1830 he was tried for conspiracy, found guilty, and sent to Spain, where, it is said, he took with him \$10,000 belonging to the mission! So ended the California career of the most notable of San Luis padres.

As the Franciscans had foreseen, the downfall of the mis-

³⁵ Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 656.

³⁶ Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, pp. 504-505.

sions followed soon after the establishment of the Republic. The first step was marked by a decree of 1826 which gave all married neophytes who had been Christianized for fifteen years or from childhood, and who had means of earning a livelihood, permission to leave the missions. This was followed by the Secularization Acts of 1830, 1831 and 1833. By the end of 1835 San Luis Obispo mission had been secularized, and the secularization of San Miguel was accomplished soon afterwards.³⁷

As elsewhere, the fury of the padres at the action of the secular government was vented in a wholesale destruction of mission property at both San Luis Obispo and San Miguel. Cattle and sheep were ruthlessly slaughtered, while at San Luis two fig trees and a few grapevines, and at San Miguel a few pear trees, were practically all that remained of the once flourishing orchards and vineyards.

This is not the place in which to discuss the justice or injustice of the Secularization Acts. Undoubtedly, the change worked a hardship upon the padres; but undoubtedly, too, California as a whole benefited by the opening of the mission lands to individual settlement. In the old days, private grants had been difficult to secure. In 1786 Ugarte, the comandante general, decreed that any governor making a grant to an individual must first ascertain whether a grant conflicted with the claims of any mission. As much of the best land of the province was used by the missions, this left little opportunity for the private settler. The following case may be cited as an example: In 1789 Governor Fages granted a tract of land at Santa Margarita to Francisco Cayuelas, a retired corporal who had married a neophyte. The governor had neglected to find out whether the land was required by the mission, and in 1790 Lasuen filed a complaint, declaring that the Santa Margarita valley was needed by the mission for several purposes, but especially for the raising of swine.³⁸ The grant was revoked.

At the close of the Spanish régime there existed in California only about twenty large private grants; practically no land in the vicinity of the San Luis and San Miguel missions

³⁷ Norton, *Story of California*, p. 137; Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico*, pp. 253-255.

³⁸ Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 544.

was owned by individuals. Following secularization the number of grants increased enormously. Richman notes that they had leaped from twenty in 1823 to approximately 600 in 1840.³⁹ In San Luis Obispo County alone over thirty grants were made between the years 1842 and 1845.

The names of San Luis Obispo grantees include many notable in the history of Spanish California. Grant of the Rancho Piedras Blancas was issued to José de Jesus Pico, cousin of Governor Pio Pico; of the Santa Ysabel to Francisco Arce, late secretary to Comandante-general Castro; of the Pismo to José Ortega, member of a family prominent since the first occupation of California. The two sons of José Mariano Estrada, a man who for twelve years had acted as alférez at Monterey, obtained the Santa Rosa and San Simeon grants, while to their cousins, Joaquin and Pedro Estrada, were issued grants of the Santa Margarita and Asuncion respectively. The Huer Huero Rancho was granted to Mariano Bonilla, Mexican lawyer and teacher, and ex-secretary to Figueroa; the Corral de Piedra to Villavicencio, a captain under Alvarado, a comandante at Santa Barbara, and (in 1840) acting prefect at Monterey.

Several who obtained land during this period were neither Spaniards nor Mexicans, for with the establishment of the Republic many American traders and sea captains had come to California, married Spanish women, and settled on the public domain. On the Nipomo Rancho lived Captain William Dana, member of a well-known eastern family; his wife was Doña Maria Josefa Carillo, daughter of the Don Carlos Carillo who in 1837 was appointed provisional governor. Isaac Sparks, a New England fur trader, obtained the grant of the Huasna Rancho. Captains James Scott and John Wilson, entering into partnership, became joint purchasers of the San Luis Obispo mission, and also grantees of the Cañada del Chorro and the Cañada de los Osos Ranchos. Captain Wilson married the charming widow of Don Romualdo Pacheco, the mother of another Romualdo Pacheco who in 1876 became Governor of the State of California. The beauty and charm of Mrs. Wilson has been mentioned by all visitors to California who had the pleasure of knowing her. William Heath Davis remarks that she was one of the most attractive of her countrywomen; Sir

³⁹ Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico*, p. 348.

George Simpson is yet more enthusiastic, and states that she was the prettiest and most agreeable woman that his party had met, whether at San Luis or elsewhere.

The history of California during the Mexican régime was that of one rebellion after another. Governors appointed by the federal government were deposed by insurrectionists, who set up others in their stead. The story of the period is confusing and by no means interesting, and need not be told in detail here. Suffice it to say that American settlers eager to obtain possession of the province took advantage of the unsettled conditions and, in 1846, raised the famous "Bear Flag" and declared the existence of the California Republic, at the head of which was put Colonel Fremont. This entirely irregular act was soon afterwards legalized by the declaration of war between the United States and Mexico. Commodore Stockton, sent to conduct the war in California, decided to adopt the acts of the Bear Flag party, and accepted the services of Fremont's California Battalion of Mounted Riflemen. In the meantime General Kearny entered Southern California by way of New Mexico. For eight months the invaders met with stubborn resistance, especially from the Mexicans in the south under Andres Pico. However, with inferior numbers and equipment the Californians had little chance. On January 8, 1847, Stockton routed the enemy at San Gabriel and captured Los Angeles. Five days later Fremont arrived from the north, and to him Andres Pico surrendered at Cahuenga. With the surrender of Pico the conquest of California was complete.

So passed the old Spanish province into the hands of the Anglo-Saxons. Much has perforce been left untold for lack of space. Yet let one story be added, and one most suitable with which to close the picturesque period of Spanish and Mexican rule.

When Fremont passed through San Luis Obispo on his last march to the south he arrested Don José de Jesus Pico, whom the Americans accused of having violated his parole and used his influence to incite the Californians to resistance. Pico was court-martialed, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. On the morning set for the execution a procession of weeping women, with faces veiled, passed slowly down the corridor of the mission to Fremont's headquarters. They were led by the beautiful Mrs. Wilson, whose face alone remained uncovered.

Entering the presence of Fremont they fell upon their knees, and with all the eloquence for which their race is famed begged that the life of Pico might be spared. Fremont hesitated, then, yielding to their prayers, turned to the prisoner and gave him pardon. The grateful Spaniard fell upon his knees, exclaiming, "I was about to die—I had lost the life God gave me—you have given me another life. I devote the new life to you." He was not faithless to his pledge, accompanying Fremont to the south, and, it is said, being instrumental in bringing about the surrender of his cousin Andres at Cahuenga.⁴⁰

Helen Mabry Ballard.

⁴⁰ The story is told by José de Jesus Pico in his *Acontecimientos en California* (mss. in the Bancroft Collection of the University of California); by Fremont in his *Memoirs*; and by Swasey in *Early Days and Men in California*.

MONTEREY IN 1796

In the latter part of October or November 1, 1796, the "Otter," Captain Ebenezer Dorr, sailed into the port of Monterey, the first American vessel, so far as known, to touch at a California port. The "Otter" was a northwest trader and had run out of provisions, and Dorr concluded to stop at Monterey to secure supplies, if possible, before proceeding to China. A full account of the "Otter's" trading operations on the northwest coast and her visit to Monterey is to be found in a little-known work published in Paris in 1824, in two thin volumes, bearing the following title:

Mémoires Du Capitaine Péron, Sur Ses Voyages Aux Côtes D'Afrique, En Arabie, A L'Ile D'Amsterdam, Aux Iles D'Anjouán Et De Mayotte, Aux Côtes Nord-Ouest De L'Amérique, Aux Iles Sandwich, A La Chine, Etc.

I confess to some doubts about the authenticity of this narrative, which begins in 1783 and continues for some twenty years. In the preface a friend of Peron, one M. Benard, who prepared the work for publication, states that he obtained the material from Peron at his home near Saumur, but there are some indications that Peron was a fictitious individual and that Benard prepared the work from miscellaneous sources. Nevertheless there is contemporary corroborative evidence that Dorr was in Monterey at this period, and there are many indications in the account of the proceedings on the northwest coast and in California that this part of the work was prepared from some authentic source. As Peron's account of Monterey seems to be entirely unknown, I append herewith a translation.

"Monterey is the residence of the Governor General, whose jurisdiction is extended over all the Californias from the 23d to the 38th degree of north latitude. From accounts which I managed to obtain around the country, the population can be estimated at about four or five individuals per square league, and which promises to increase very rapidly. The beauty of the climate and the fertility of the soil are the causes which favor the growth of the country. Civilization has not made great progress. The zeal of the missionaries has up to the present encountered a stubbornness in the natives, although it

has softened their customs, which is a great step towards a better order of things.

The bay of Monterey at its opening is from twenty-two to twenty-four miles wide between two points, one named Nouvelle-An at the north, and the Point of Pines at the south, which bear the one from the other, northwest,—the one a quarter west 5° north, the other southeast 5° one quarter south. Its greatest depth inside of the line of opening does not exceed twelve miles, although one can anchor at any point in thirty fathoms of water two miles away from the shore. The choicest and safest anchorage is inside the Point of Pines, the coast running to the south about two miles and then to the east, deviating somewhat towards the north, which forms a bay where a vessel can be protected from the west and southwest winds, which, blowing through the opening of the bay, are very violent and very injurious to vessels. The fort, which the Spaniards call the presidio, is constructed on the Point of Pines and dominates entirely the anchorage. The landing must here be made on low and swampy ground, which causes a great deal of embarrassment, especially at low tide.

The object of our touching the port was to secure food and other provisions. Our first step, therefore, was to go to the governor. Mr. Dorr and I left to go on shore. At the landing we were received by an officer of the post and by the secretary of the governor. These gentlemen had brought with them horses which they offered to us, but we had the sailors tread, which gives but little grace to a rider, and it may have been for the pleasure of the walk or for our amour propre that we preferred to go on foot. The gentlemen were good enough to accompany us in the same way. The route we had to follow was an uncultivated plain, but the soil, light and covered with verdure, offered to the eye the appearance of a rich vegetation. At the end of an hour we reached the door of an enclosure which appeared to be of considerable size. The guard was composed half of infantry and half of cavalry. We entered a building on the right. The sight of a camp bed showed us we were in the guard room. It was two o'clock, and our audience with the governor was at 3:30, so to occupy the time of waiting we were offered an excellent cup of chocolate. This delicate attention was very well received by us, as for men who were accustomed to salt fish and biscuit it was a great treat. At the appointed hour a sergeant came to tell

us that the governor was ready to receive us. Before reaching his apartment we had to cross a big square enclosed in walls twelve feet high. The apartment of the governor is, like the storehouse and the rest of the buildings devoted to the garrison, situated in the back of the place against the western wall and facing the east. These different buildings are of the slightest character, have only one floor and can only be sufficient to lodge a hundred people, a number entirely out of proportion for the guard and police of a district as large as that of Monterey.

The governor did not belie the opinion which we had conceived of his affability. In that first interview, as in all the others we had during our sojourn, he showed us great courtesy and helped us in every way he could. For my part, I will always cherish his memory as I shall never forget the tender interest that he displayed in me. M. Muir, of whom I have had occasion to speak more than once, having preceded us in Monterey, had told about my abandonment at the island of Amsterdam, my misfortunes, and the matter of my relations with M. Dorr. The governor had the kindness to give me good advice and letters of recommendation for the rest of my voyage. So much loyalty, so noble assistance, never receive the price they deserve. The governor had a great deal to complain about M. Dorr. Five sailors of those we had taken at Port Jackson had left the vessel. The governor, who did not wish to keep foreigners under his government, had them sent back on board with precise orders to put them under civil guard. M. Dorr, who did not wish to pay these men the price of their engagements, put them on shore a second time. Before leaving Monterey I have to relate a fact which will not give a good opinion of the progress of industry in this part of the world. To complete our cargo of flour we lacked about 380 pounds. The governor, in order to hurry these provisions, gave the order in my presence to augment the number of millers. I showed my surprise and could not understand how so many people were necessary for so simple an operation. 'In Europe,' said I, 'the smallest mill would produce a hundred pounds an hour.' 'Follow me,' said he, laughing. In the workroom where he took me, fifteen to twenty Indians were seated on their heels, having in front of them a flat stone two and a half feet in length and a half a foot in width. They had in their hands another stone of prismatic shape with which they were grinding

the grain. This was the method used by the savages and some of the negroes in the colonies, but for the capital of a government as extended as that of California I could not understand why a mill was not established like the ones in Europe. The governor told me that M. de Perouse had shown the same surprise that I had, and that he had the kindness to leave a model for a mill of a form as simple as it was economical, but that in spite of his encouragement and his orders, no worker up to that time had been found willing to put his hand to the work. The aspect of the town shows ignorance in the arts and a stationary state of the country. The houses and cabins are constructed without taste, the furniture coarse, the utensils imperfect,—an absolute lack of the conveniences of life—such is the picture that everything showed. Industry is in general the feeble side of Spanish establishments and it is for this that they cost so dear to their government. The governor did not answer my just objections, he avowed only that he had to regret that he had proposed different methods of amelioration without avail.

November 8, 1796, our crew being composed of only fourteen men altogether, in place of the thirty-one which we counted on leaving Port Jackson, we got under sail at day-break with a light breeze from the southeast. On the 9th in the morning the coast showed itself northeast to east, about fourteen miles in distance. At noon we estimated our location as $35^{\circ}43'$ in latitude and $237^{\circ}37'$ [east] of longitude, and at three o'clock in the afternoon we entirely lost sight of land."

At this point in the narrative there is a footnote giving an extract of a voyage in 1813 by E. [Peter] Corney, second in command of the schooner "Columbia" of London, taken from the London Literary Gazette of 1821. Corney was in command of the "Santa Rosa", a part of Bouchard's squadron, which appeared on the California coast and sacked Monterey in November 1818. Corney's narrative was reprinted from this magazine in Honolulu in 1896.

In this narrative Peron states that the "Otter" arrived in Monterey November 1 and left November 8. Mr. H. H. Bancroft discovered in the archives copies of two letters from Diego de Borica, the governor, dated November 5 and November 12, in which an account is given of the stay of the "Otter", and this substantially agrees with Peron's account except for

the difference in dates; as Bancroft says she arrived October 29 and left November 6.

In the Archivo Nacional of Mexico, Section of Provincias Internas, Vol. VI, will be found the original letters of Borica, together with a large number of documents about the men and the woman whom Dorr put on shore at Monterey. Altogether there were ten men and one woman, and in the list of the names given, some of which are hardly recognizable, there occur three—Andres Lambert, Juan Rich and James Gibson—who claimed they were from Boston. The party were sent to San Blas in 1797, and in March 1798 were sent to Mexico, one dying en route. In July, 1798, all were sent to Havana except Lambert and the woman who claimed to be his wife, and one Prichard. In 1800, apparently, Lambert and his wife were baptized as Catholics, and in October, Juana, the woman, was in Mexico, where she made a declaration that she had been married to Lambert about fourteen years before. Most of this time Lambert was working at Vera Cruz, but Prichard had gone to Havana where he was working in a shipyard. They wished to remain in Mexico but the Viceroy, after consulting with the home government, finally ruled that they could be naturalized in Spain, or if they did not wish to do this they should be sent to their own country. According to a letter from the governor of Vera Cruz, September 1802, Lambert and his wife finally elected to go to Spain within two months. This is the latest document in the expediente, so what became of them is unknown. The party were apparently British convicts whom Dorr had taken on board at Port Jackson in Australia.

In the expediente there is some correspondence about a draft on Boston for 41 pounds, 12 shillings, which Dorr gave to Governor Borica in payment for food. There is no direct evidence that the draft was paid except that the equivalent in Mexican pesos was finally credited back to Monterey.

H. R. Wagner.

DOCUMENTARY

(Continued from page 95)

[The original of the proclamation which follows was not found by Mr. Bancroft, nor have we been more successful. We reproduce the translation which is found in Larkin's Official Correspondence II, 71-72, in the Bancroft Library.

The Citizen José Castro, Lieutenant Colonel of Horse in the Mexican Army, and acting General Commandant of the Department of Upper California.

All the foreigners pacifically residing amongst us, occupied in their business, may rest assured of the protection of all the Authorities of the Department, always admitting that they mix in no revolutionary movements. The General Commandancia under my charge, will never lightly proceed against any person whatever, neither will it be carried away by mere words, wanting proof to support them; there shall proper declarations be taken, proofs exacted, and the liberties & rights of the laborious which is always commendable, shall be protected.

Let the fortune of war take its chance with those ungrateful persons who with arms in their hands, have attacked the Country without remembering that at some former time, they were treated by him who subscribes, with all that indulgence of which he is characteristic, the impartial inhabitants of the Department are witnesses to the truth of this, I have nothing to fear, my duty must conduct me to death or Victory, I am a MEXICAN SOLDIER, and I will be free and independent, or die with pleasure, for these inestimable blessings.

Head Quarters, Santa Clara, June 17th, 1846.

(Signed) JOSÉ CASTRO.

And that this may reach the notice of all, I command that it be published & circulated, and posted up in the customary conspicuous parts.

Monterey, June 22, 1846.

(Signed). J. S. ESCAMILLO, Alcalde.

[From Larkin's Documents IV, 167.]

[Original,]

Vice Consulate of the United States.

Yerba Buena June 19th, 1846.

Thomas O. Larkin Esqr.

Dear Sir:

Having the means of sending you a communication as far as the "Pueblo"; I deem it not improper to enclose you a

copy of a "Proclamation" which reached us yesterday from the camp at "Sonoma"; and also to inform you of such other information as can be entirely relied upon, it being from the only authentic sources.

Sonoma" was surprized on Sunday morning last by 34 men—their present force it is impossible to give, as no one pretends to know how many they now have at their camp on the Sacramento and in the surrounding country. They took prisoners Don Guadalupe and Salvador Vallejo Col. Prudon and Mr. Leese, these they escorted to thier camp on the Sacramento. They also arrested the "Alcalde" but he accepted a commission under the new Commandant of Sonoma, and now continues his duties under that commission.

The Prisoners were assured that no injury to thier persons or property should be permitted, when Genl. Vallejo at once placed at their disposition fifty horses, and all the provisions they might require in the Garrison. The Commander in Chief assured him that the horses should be well cared for, and an exact account kept of all stores consumed by necessity—and no waste permitted. And that to their utmost ability they would pay full value for everything required.

Before Don Guadalupe left under his escort, he directed Don Jose de la Rosa to proceed to Capt. Montgomery (if he could leave the place) and request him to send an officer or otherwise use his influence with the Garrison to prevent any injury to the defenseless inhabitants; he did not ask Capt. Montgomery to take any part in the matter—or even to intercede for his own release: which Capt. Montgomery also assured de la Rosa that he could not do—but if he thought the presence of an officer would calm the fears of the inhabitants he was disposed to send one—although for himself he considered from the messengers own statements no danger to unarmed poeple could be apprehended: however before the officer left, Capt. Montgomery received a messenger from the Commander in Chief William B. Ide, informing him of the change in the political condition of Sonoma, and the Valley of the Sacramento. The messenger hoped the officer would go up that the Capt. might learn for himself that all had been done in good order, and that no injury had been, or would be done.

Lieut. Missroon went up, taking with him both messengers. He found all quiet, the place in the most perfect order;

under strict Military discipline; and on asking the "Alcalde" the question—he assured him, that except in the capture of the officers no act of violence to person or property had taken place.

Mr. Missroon witnessed the following scene, (or rather the trial which occurred) A young man of the garrison went to the "Corral" to "lasso" a horse, a horse kicked him violently injuring him and giving him much pain:—in his anger, he picked up a rifle and killed the horse on the spot; whereupon he was at once arrested by the Commander in Chief, carried before the "Alcalde"; a jury summoned and the culprit put on his trial for the offence. He acknowledged the act, and the Jury assessed the horse to be worth \$30. and that he must pay that amount to Genl. Vallejo the owner. The man now proved that Genl. Vallejo owed him over \$50. for monthly labor and he would give a certificate that \$30. of the debt was paid; The "Alcalde" admitted the plea—gave the certificate to Madam Vallejo, and dismissed the Prisoner who resumed his duty in the garrison (Certainly this was prompt and equal justice! have you ever heard of such dispatch in a law suit in California before?)

There is no doubt but the most determined and chivalric spirit, actuates the men now under the command of "Ide" as their elected chief; and that they are actuated by a spirit which forbids them to commit any act of violence, or injury upon any one.

They have three hundred stand of arms, including Rifles, Muskets, Carbines and Pistols in their garrison of "Sonoma," with eight pieces of Cannon—and plenty of ammunition; and Its supposed they will use them with terrible effect if they are attacked.

It is impossible to say how many men they have—but I think the "Proclamation" will call many to their "Banner"—which is A white "field", with a red "border," a large "Star" and a Grisly Bear! Such is the Flag of Young California!

Mrs. Vallejo was permitted to send her brother with an open letter to Genl. Vallejo, (on the 17th) and also an account of the interview of de la Rosa, with Capt. Montgomery; the messenger had a passport given him to go to the upper camp and return.

(The "Proclamation seems to please many who have read it, I have no idea what the California officers intend to do in the premises.

I have nothing further to-day, but should be glad to hear from you: hoping that there is not so much excitement with you as we have here)

I remain Sir your Obt. Svt.

WM. A. LEIDESDORFF

Thos. O. Larkin Esqr.

U. S. Consul Monterey

[In the first paragraph of the above letter Leidesdorff says that he is enclosing a proclamation. The proclamation is not found attached to the letter in the Larkin Documents, but included amongst the documents in the Sloat manuscripts is a copy, in the handwriting of J. H. Ackerman, Leidesdorff's clerk, of the second and final proclamation, that dated June 18. No original of this seems to be known, but there are several copies, which do not differ except in the most minor and unimportant respects. We append the one found in the Sloat Manuscripts as being undoubtedly a contemporary copy, made by a good penman and probably transcribed with care.]

Proclamation. All persons residing in California who will remain peaceable shall in no wise be molested and injured.

The commander of the company of soldiers now in possession of the town of Sonoma, promises on his word of honor to all the Californians who do not take up arms against him, peace & security and in case any of the said commanders people should in any wise injure any person not concerned, on application being made to the above mentioned authority, the offender or offenders shall be punished, the party injured not having taken up arms

The commander wishes to establish a good government for the prompt administration of Justice and with a strict attention to individual rights & liberties and not with the intention of molesting or permitting to be molested any person on account of their religious opinions.

The new Government will work indefatigably to the end of acquiring every thing that may be beneficial to the country.

This Government will reduce the Marine duties three or four parts in a thousand. It will defend its rightful intentions with the favour of God & the valour of its adherants. The Government of this country has ordered us to retire the same way we came & as this is impossible on account of our poverty, we have determined to make this Country independent & to

establish a system of Government that will be more favourable to us than such a long & dangerous road back.

I order that this be published with a translation likewise that of the 15th of the present month in English & Spanish

June 18th 1846

(Signed) WILLIAM B. IDE
Commander in Sonoma

[One copy of this proclamation has the following addition:]

The 14th day of the present month—the present Commandant took possession of the town of Sonoma and up to this date there had not been the least disorder there having been taken nothing but arms, ammunition and Horses and for whatever else they may have required they have solicited it of individuals under a promise of payment in full value the moment the Government is properly installed in the Republic of California which they are determined to do.

—former date—

JOSE S. BERREYESA—Alcalde 1st
in Sonoma

[The above proclamation was found posted up on the morning of the 27th of June, 1846, in the Port of Monterey.]



[Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts, from a contemporary copy.]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
June 20th, 1846.

Sir,

I have this moment recieved your note with the intelligence of the detention of your letter at Sta. Clara which I much regret; and I am surprised to hear that two hundred men have been collected so soon to oppose the insurgent force at Sonoma. My boat has just returned from Fremont's, bringing news that all persons were taken to Fremonts camp by the request of Genl. Vallejo and his companions who desired his protection. Captain Fremonts neutral position preventing him from taking charge of them, caused their removal to Sutter where they are now retained as hostages.

Sutter with all his men has joined the insurgents, first throwing up his Mexican commission; their force must be considerably increased above the original number, and from all

I hear, I doubt whether they can be easily dispersed. Should Castro march upon them, we shall probably (from the character of the men composing the insurgent force for accuracy in the use of arms, soon hear tidings of interest, and of decided character in the history of California.

My position you know is neutral: I am a mere observer of passing events, looking out solely for the security and interest of our country, and countrymen in an honest way. I know of no way consistently with this view of doing what you name, but feel not much concerned on that account for reasons before stated. Let me know if any thing more of interest transpires.

I shall move to Yerba Buena the beginning of the week should it be found expedient.

In haste Yours

Respectfully

To (Signed) JOHN B MONTGOMERY
Wm. A Leidsdorff Esq, Commander
Vice Consul of the U States.



[Larkin Documents IV, 171. Bancroft Library.]

[Original.]

Yerba buena June 21st 1846.

T. O. Larkin Esqr.

Dear Sir

Yours of the 19th inst came duly to hand this morning, I emidiately dispatched a boat to Capt. Montgomery, who has written a letter to Comr. Stockton which I forward to you, you say that I dont give you information enough or as much as the Capt: gave you, the fact is that I waited for the Captain to write first and then wrote my letter in a hurry I have had a long one ready for you for 3 days I have not been able to get a courier either for love, or money, one man asked me \$50 cash and so on, I now send you the letter I have had ready for some days, Sutter has joined the rebels, (so called) which you will se by a copy of Capt. Montgomery's letter to me, I am told that some of the Calafornians has driven all their horses of to the sea cost so that Castro will not get them.

I Remain your Obt Servt

WM. A. LEIDESDORFF

[From a contemporary copy in the possession of Mrs. Luisa Vallejo Emparan, General Vallejo's daughter.]

Sierra de Petaluma

Junio 22 de 1846.

Mi estimada hermana, á noche recibí tu apreciable donde me dices que el Capitan de esa partida te dijo que tiene gente para recibirme y que te dijo tambien que si yo les hago daño el se lo hacia a las familias; y en Contestacion te digo para que no tenga cuidado que esta gente que tengo reunido no está en el fin de hacerlo daño a ese Sör ni a su gente es verdad que tenemos mucha indiada armada y gente de razon y si huvieramos tenido intencion de hacerles daño ya lo huvieramos hecho y para creas mejor lo que te digo; si tu quieres puedes decirle de mi parte y de parte de toda esta gente al Sör Capitan de esa partida que nunca hemos pensado nosotros hacerles el mas lebe daño con nuestras armas como hasta hora no lo hemos hecho pues el fin unico con que nos hemos reunido, ha sido para cuidar nuestros intereses y reclamar por la via legal y la paz que nos cumplan todo lo prometido en los articuls de la proclama que dieron al publico prometiendo seguridad de personas é intereses y por fin dile al Sör Capitan que si el se halla en buena disposicion de tener paz con nosotros para evitar otros disturbios que no mas tenga la bondad de mandarmelo decir por escrito y que al momento nos dirigiremos á él de buena paz y le manifestaremos los motivos que tenemos para estar reunido todo este vecindario y que si no nos priva del derecho que nos asiste que al momento entregaremos a tres individuos de los suyos que tenemos Contenidos en nuestro Campamto. Si dho Sör Capitan admite a nuestra proposicion que yo luego á nombre de todo este vecindario dile que a las ocho o las diez de la mañana estará un oficial del mismo vecindario en Petaluma para que reciba la contestacion y que el que la reciba citará tiempo y el punto en que deberá entregar la representacion de esta vecindario pues aunque obramos de acuerdo con el Sör Comand.te Gral nos conformamos no mas con que se nos haga justicia y no mas Soy tu hermano que te aprecia=

Jose Ramon Carillo.

P. D. Hermana Si tu entregas esta carta saca antes borrador=Carillo

Es. fiel Copia

[We have no reason to doubt that this letter is genuine, Mrs. Emparan's mother having been Carillo's sister.]

[Translation]

Sierra de Petaluma
My esteemed sister:

June 22, 1846

At night I received your valued letter in which you tell me that the captain of that party told you that he had a force to receive me, and that he also told you that if I did any damage to them that he would retaliate on the families. In answer I tell you not to have any fear that this force which I have reunited is for the purpose of doing any damage to that señor or his force. It is true that we have many armed Indians and people of class, and if we had any intention of doing any damage we would have done it; and that you may believe better what I say, if you wish you can say for my part and in behalf of all this force, to the captain of that party, that we have never thought of doing the least damage with our arms, as we have not done up to the present, but the only design for which we have united ourselves has been to guard our interests and to lay claim in a legal way to the peace which has been promised us in the articles of the proclamation which was given to the public, promising security of persons and interests; and finally, say to the captain that if he has a good disposition to maintain peace with us to avoid other disturbances, to have the goodness to send to me and say so by writing, and immediately we will peaceably direct ourselves to him and make manifest the motives which we had in having brought together the neighbors, and if he does not deprive us of the right which belongs to us we will immediately deliver his three followers which we have detained in our camp. If the said captain admits our proposal which I make in the name of this community, tell him that at eight or ten o'clock in the morning there will be an official from the same community in Petaluma to receive the answer, and that the one who receives the answer will fix the time and place in which the representation of this community shall be delivered, for although we are working in accord with the Comandante General, we conform no more than to see that justice is done us and no more.

I am your brother who values you

JOSE RAMON CARILLO.

P. D. Sister, if you deliver this letter make a copy first.
Carillo.

This is a faithful copy.

PIO PICO'S PROCLAMATION

[Moreno Doc. 30-32. Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

1846 Junio 23 Sta Barba.

Gobr. Pico. Proclama contra los Estados Unidos.

El Gobor. Constl. del Depto. de Californias à sus habitantes dirige la sigte. **Proclama.**

Conciudadanos=Herido vivante y comprometido hasta lo sumo el honor nacional en la época presente, téngo la gloria de encaminaros mi voz en la firme persuasion de qe. sois mejicanos, qe. arde en vuestras venas la sangre de aquellos mártires venerables de la patria, y qe. no omitireis derramarla en defensa de su libertad é independa.

Acaba en este momto., compatriotas, de recibir vuestro gobor. departaml. la infausta nueva comunicada oficialmte, de los autoridades políticas de Monterey con 4 dias defha que una gavilla de aventureros del Norte-América, y con la traicion mas negra qe. el genio del mal pudiera inventar, ha invadido el punto de Sonoma, enarbolando su pabellon y llevandose presos à cuatro ciudadanos Mexicanos. Sí, conciudadanos, i quien devosotros, al escuchar tan fatales perfidias, no abandonará el doméstico hogar, y volará con el fusil en la mano al campo del honor á vengar los ultrages de la patria? Seréis insensibles á la opresion en que nos quieren poner tan viles dominadores? no conmoverán los gemidos dolientes de la patria? Vereis con frente serena destruir el pacto fundaml. de nuestras sagradas y caras instituciones? No, no—léjos de mí toda sospecha en contrario; no creo de vuestro civismo, vuestro ciego amor á la patria qe. dejaréis profanas siquiera el árbol fecundo y bien hecho de la Sacrosanta libertad.

La nacion Norte-Ama. no puede jamas ser nuestra amiga. Ella tiene leyes, religion, idioma, y costumbres totalmte. opuestas á las nuestras. Ella, faltando á la mas leal amistad que Mejico le prodigara, al derecho de gentes, y á la mas sana política, poniendo en ejecucion sus miras piraticas, ha robado el Depto. de Tejas, y quiere hacer otro tanto con el de Californias; desmembrar así inicuamente el territorio Mejicano, bajando su pabellon de las tres garantias, y enarbolar el suyo aumentando el número desus fatales estrellas.

Volad presurosos, Mejicanos, en pos del traidor enemigo, seguidlo hasta las selvas mas remotas, escarmentad su audacia; y en caso contrario, formamos un cementerio en donde lapos-teridad recuerde con gloria de la hista. Mejicana el heroismo de sus hijos, así como se recuerda la gloria alcanzada con la muerte de aquel punado de ciudadanos destacados en el Paso de las Termópilas al mando del General Leonidas. Oid su lema. "Estrangero dí á Lacedamonía qe. aquí hemos muerto obedeciendo sus leyes." No imitarémos este noble ejemplo? Consentirémos que la Repa. del Norte traiga á nuestro Suelo de libertad la horrorosa esclavitud qe. permiten en sus Estados? Sufrirémos ver vender la sangre humana al precio del vil interes? Permitirémos, en fin, ver profanada la efigia augusta del Crucificado, y las dogmas de nuestra sagrada Religion?

Compatriotas. Corred velozmte. conmigo á coronar vuestras sienes con los laureles frescos de inmarcesible gloria; en los campos del Norte están esparcidos queriendo saltar á vuestras frentes nobles. Corresponded gustosos, Mejicanos, á los deseos de vtro conciudo. y amigo.

Pio Pico=Sta Barba., Junio 23 1846.

Ciudadanos extranjeros que pisais este suelo. El Gobo. Depl. os considera bajo la proteccion de las leyes y los tratados. Vuestras propiedades serán respetadas, y nadie os inquietará; y como tambien invite á la persecucion de los bandidos qe. han invadido el Norte de este Depto.

[The above may have been the last but one paragraph in the original. The whole is taken from a blotter-copy.]

[Translation from a contemporary copy in Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

The Constitutional Governor of the Department of California to their inhabitants addresses the following Proclamation

Fellow Citizens, wounded grievously and compromised to the utmost as the national honor at the present epoch is I have the glory to address you in the firm persuasion that you are Mexicans, that there glows in your veins the blood of those venerable martyrs of the country and that you will not fail to exercise it in defence of your Country and independence. Compatriots: Your Departmental Government has received

at this moment, the unhappy news communicated officially by the political authorities of Monterey dated four days ago, that a band of adventurers of North America, with the blackest treason that the genius of evil could invent, have invaded the position of Sonoma displaying their Flag and carrying off prisoners four Mexican Citizens. Yes, Fellow Citizens, which of you, at hearing such fatal perfidy will not abandon the domestic hearth and fly with gun in hand to the field of honor to avenge the outrages of the Country? Will you be insensible to the oppression under which such vile dominators wish to place us? Will not the afflicting groans of the Country move you? Will you see with a serene front, destroyed the fundamental part of our sacred and dear institutions? No, No. far from me all suspicion to the contrary, no, I believe in your civism, your blind love of country, & that you will not leave to be profaned, in any way the fruitful and beneficent tree of holy liberty.

The North American Nation never can be your friend. She has laws, religion, language and customs totally opposed to ours; She, failing, to the most loyal friendship that Mexico lavished upon her, to the law of nations, & to the most sound policy, putting in execution her piratical views has stolen the Department of Texas and wishes to do as much with that of Californias to dismember thus iniquitously the Mexican Territory, tarnishing its flag of the three guaranties and displaying "el sulto" with the fatal number of her stars augmented.

Fly quickly Mexicans after that traitor enemy, follow him to the most remote woods, punish his audacity, and in the contrary event, let us form a cemetery where posterity may call to mind the glory, of the Mexican history the heroism of her sons, as is remembered the glory gained by the death of that handful of citizens detached to the pass of Thermopylae under the command of General Leonidas. Hear this strange motto, placed on their monument that "here we have died in obedience to our laws. Shall we not imitate this noble example? Shall we consent that the republic of the north, shall bring to our soil of Liberty the horrible slavery which is permitted in the United States? Shall we suffer to be seen sold, human blood at the price of vile interest? Shall we permit finally to be profaned the august effigy of the crucifix and the Dogmas of our sacred religion?

Foreign Citizens who tread this soil the Departmental government will consider you, under the protection of the laws and treaties, your property shall be respected and no one shall molest you, and as you are likewise proprietors interested in the peace and interior security, the Government invites you to the pursuit of the bandits who have invaded the North of this Department.

Compatriots, run quickly with me to crown your brows with the fresh laurels of unfading glory, in the fields of the north they are spread desirous to leap to our noble fronts.

Correspond Mexicans, joyfully to the wishes of your fellow citizen and friend

Santa Barbara June 23rd 1846

To the Sub Prefect of the district of Angeles for publication.



[Sawyer's Documents, 55-57.]

[Copy.]

Consulate U. S. of America

Monterey June 24th 1846

Sir

The three accompanying Proclamations have been issued at the Towns of Yerba buena, Sonoma and the Pueblo (town) of San José, This first of this month a party of twelve men (foreigners) met an equal number of Soldiers near new Helvetia and took from them without receiving any resistance about one hundred and seventy horses and mares the majority of the former belonging to the Government of California. On the 17th inst they and other foreigners took possession of the Town of Sonoma on the bay of San Francisco, carried off Don. M. G. Vallego Don Salvador Vallego, Don Victor Prudon, and Mr Jacob P. Leece, the two first are natives of this country, the third a citizen of France, Don M. G. Vallego was Military Commandant of Sonoma, Prudon was Captain and Secretary, these four persons are now on Feather River a branch of the Sacramento, held as supposed hostages to enable their Captors to further their designs, Some thirty of their party remain in charge of Sonoma, having to this time respected the property in the case with the exception of taking the Commandants horses. In the meantime General Castro with two hundred or

more Soldiers and citizens under his command remained at Santa Clara, two days ride or less from Mr. Ide's party the Town of Monterey has sent but a few citizens to Señor Castro and the most of them have stopped at the Mission of St. Johns (less than half way) I understand that Mr William B. Ide who signs the Proclamation to be a man of about forty five years of age, born in one of the Western States, an active, energetic and well informed man, came to California with a wife and five children in September or October 1845, they now reside on the Sacramento River, from our last notices from the North his party had not increased and they were expecting a large party in July from the Oregon, and in September several parties from the States, Mr Ide and party have a white flag, red fly end, with one star and a Bear in the Union

I give you this information as I receive it and believe it to be correct, in all probability General Castro will not go North to meet the other party he has however issued two Proclamations on the rising of the foreigners. The general and the Governor had a party against each other, each denying the authority of the other although both held their commissions of Mexico, perhaps the actual difference may consist in the laws of President Herrera appropriating two thirds of the Custom House duties to the Governor while the decrees of President Paredes places the whole at the disposal of the General

I am Sir

your most obedient servant

To

(Signed) THOMAS O. LARKIN

Hon. James Buchanan
Secretary of State
City of Washington

[From Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Copy of Francisco Guerrero's statement to Leidesdorff that foreigners will be expelled from the country, appended to the preceding letter. The Ide proclamation of June 18 and Castro's proclamation are found elsewhere.]

I have concluded to order all the Jueces of the towns under their charge, that they cannot under the most strong responsibility permit nor authorise sale or cession whatever of land or of said class of property without regulation by right and in

favour of Mexican Citizens advising those foreigners that are not Naturalized and legally introduced, that whatever purchase or acquisition they make, will be null and void and will be subject (if they do not retire voluntarily from the Country) to be expelled from it, whenever the Government finds it convenient.

William A. Leidesdorff Esqr.-

God and Liberty

U. S. Vice Consul Yerba

April 30th 1846

Buena, San Francisco

(Signed) FRANCISCO GUERRERO

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

I Moscoviti nella California o sia dimostrazione della verità del passo all'America settentrionale nuovamente scoperto dai Russi, e di quello anticamente praticato dalli Popolatori, che vi trasmigrarono dall'Asia. Dissertazione storico-geografica del Padre F. Giuseppe Torrubia minore osservante di S. Francesco, cronologo di tutto l'ordine, e commissario general e della curia oltramontana. In Roma MDCCLIX. Per Generoso Salomoni Con lic. de' Sup. Small 8°. 83 pages.

This rare little work, of which few copies are in existence, although we know of three in California, namely, in the California State Library and in the collections of Mr. Huntington and Mr. Crocker, was written by one of the best known Spanish writers of the eighteenth century. Torrubia was a Franciscan of great talent, who finally became the commissary general in both Spain and Rome of several of the Franciscan provinces in America and in the Philippines. He lived in the Philippines for a while, and in one part of the book he tells us that in 1733 he himself made a voyage from the Philippines to Acapulco with Cabrera Bueno. Besides a history of the Franciscan order he wrote numerous works dealing with ecclesiastical law or with church questions of one kind or another.

The work is almost entirely devoted to a discussion of the discoveries of the Russians on the northwest coast as interpreted and mapped by Buache and De Lisle. Incidentally he discusses the possible migration of the Aztecs from Tartary across Behring Strait and down the western coast. The book begins with an account of a Dutch story of a passage from the Bacalaos to the South Sea, and which passage they called the "Strait of Anian." He says that this relation fell into the hands of Philip III, who ordered the Count of Monterey, then the Viceroy in Mexico, to send an expedition to verify it, and he then proceeds to give an account of the voyage of Vizcaino. On page 34 he refers to the document from the Chinese obtained by De Guignes, from which Buache in 1752 constructed his famous map showing the voyage of Leao-tung to Fusang. On page 45 he states that 41° north latitude was considered the end of California, and that at that time the Russians had come down to 55°, as shown on De Lisle's map of 1752. Pages 47-64 contain an extract from De Lisle's pamphlet, which contains his account delivered before the Academy April 8, 1750, and printed in 1752. On page 66 he says that some Russians

passed through Behring's Straits in 1640, and intimates that the Prussians had concealed this fact in order to give the credit of this discovery to Behring, who passed through in 1728.

In no part of the book does Father Torrubia give any account of California, but undoubtedly the work was written with the object of calling the attention of the Spanish government to the steady advance of the Russians from the north and the possible danger of their occupation of California, although he does not state this in so many words. This little work must have had considerable influence at the Spanish Court in bringing about the decision to occupy Alta California, and thus place some kind of a limit to the march of the Russians southward.

Most of Father Torrubia's writings are in Spanish, and it is not known why this particular work was published in Italian; probably it was originally written in Spanish.

NEW HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA

A History Of California: The Spanish Period By Charles E. Chapman, Ph.D. New York. The Macmillan Company 1921.

It had been our intention, before reviewing this book, to await the publication of the companion volume of Prof. Cleland, which is now in press and covers the American period of the history of California, but the delay in publication of this latter work has made it seem inappropriate to pass over another number of the *Quarterly* without some notice of Prof. Chapman's work. Especially is this the case in that, so far as we are aware, the two works have no connection with each other beyond the fact that together they represent a complete History of California. We do not understand that there has been any collaboration between the two writers; the subject has simply been divided at a convenient point of division, each writer covering that portion for which he is especially equipped.

The object which Prof. Chapman, and no doubt also Prof. Cleland, has in view in publishing this combined history is to produce a readable, up to date history of the state with the hope that it may also prove popular. The publication of any new history under such responsible auspices at once invites comparison with Bancroft's History, which has hitherto been accepted as a standard. An examination of the book will show that the work is largely based upon Prof. Chapman's previous work "The Founding of Spanish California." It is to this portion of the history of California that Prof. Chapman has devoted his attention, and naturally he is better qualified to write on that period than on any other. On the whole, bearing this particular fact in mind, it seems that a very fair sense of proportion is exercised in allotting space to the various episodes of California history. In attempting to write a popular book it is necessary to stress those particular episodes which are interesting to the general reader, and consequently we find in the book chapters devoted to the discoveries of the Cabrillo and Vizcaino expeditions and those of Gali and Cermeño. The view of Drake's voyage is taken from Mrs. Nuttall's latest book, whose ideas the author has accepted. There is a long chapter on the Bouchard incident, which is somewhat

dramatic but of no real importance. This has been written up largely from Peter Corney's book, as this contains more information on the subject than we have yet been able to discover elsewhere, although an account of the expedition was printed in Montevideo after the ship's return, which no one has yet consulted. There are also chapters on Galvez, Bucareli, Anza, the Spanish occupation of California, the founding of San Francisco, Serra, and Spanish Californian institutions.

On page 12 we learn that "It will be one of the purposes of this volume to show forth the Spanish achievement in truer perspective and to indicate its overwhelming importance as affecting the later acquisition of the province by the United States." It soon develops that Prof. Chapman's idea is that the Spaniards in colonizing Upper California acted on the theory that in so doing they were preserving the province for future possession of the United States, and that the discovery of gold was postponed two or three years so as to make it certain that this did not interfere with the United States' taking possession of the territory. At least it might be inferred that this is Prof. Chapman's theory, because the last sentence in the book states that "The work of Galvez and Bucareli, worthily carried on by the Spanish Californians, had reached its logical conclusion,"—that is, in the treaty of peace signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The method of writing history on a teleological basis is one in common use, especially in popular works, and no doubt all theories of the destiny of the United States to occupy California tend towards the self-glorification of Americans, and especially of Californians. They belong to the spread-eagle type of literature, which was so common a half century ago; but the ideas on this subject expressed in this volume seem to us rather grotesque and not in keeping with Prof. Chapman's reputation as an historical investigator.

In line with the same policy, probably, of popularizing the book, there are a number of generalizations which are characteristic of that class of literature. We refer only to two, one of which sounds rather strange coming from a man who is familiar with the history of the colonization of Mexico and South America by the Spaniards. On page 467 he states that "Inevitably the same fate [extinction] was in store for the Californian Indians that has been the lot of other backward

peoples in the presence of white civilization." In some parts of Spanish America the reverse has almost happened, namely, the submergence of white civilization under the pressure of the indigenes and their descendants, pure and mixed. On the same page he tells us that "In 1827 a Mexican law called for the expulsion of all friars from the republic." This is a mistake,—the law only called for the expulsion of all Spaniards.

Another rather rash generalization will be found on page 388, where Prof. Chapman tells us, speaking of the mission in California, that "It is the foundation upon which men of a later day have reared the structure of California history. It is the cornerstone of California art, literature, and sentiment." It seems to us that this is far removed from the truth. California literature as we know it has not been affected by the mission at all, and what is known as the school of California art took no notice of it whatever. It is true that in these days there is more or less sentiment among Californians about the old missions, but this sentiment seems to have taken practical form in very few directions.

Generally speaking, one forms the idea in reading the book that it is made up of a series of monographs, some of which have been written in times past and others recently composed to fill in the gaps. That certain chapters have been written at different times is evident from Mr. Chapman's confusion on the subject of the Spanish and Mexican peso, and as this is an important matter we feel obliged to notice his remarks. On page 239, in the footnote, it is stated that the peso was worth 50 cents, undoubtedly meaning by that, cents of the United States of America of 1921. On page 305 we are told in the footnote that the real, which was the eighth part of a peso, is ordinarily rated at $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents, but it has seemed best in the volume to calculate the peso as equivalent to a dollar [undoubtedly also a United States dollar of 1921]. This is no place to discuss the varying quantity of silver contained in Spanish and Mexican pesos, but it is sufficient to state that the Spanish and its successor, the Mexican peso, contained slightly more silver than the American dollar up to the time of what is usually known as the "demonetization" of silver. During the period covered by Prof. Chapman's work, the silver peso had equal or greater value than the American dollar had while it was being coined, or would have had if it had been

coined earlier out of the same quantity of silver. Many writers, in speaking of the value of the silver peso have spoken of it as if it were worth 50 cents, which value it had nominally some eight or ten years ago, but in speaking of the peso of before 1873 it is not only misleading, but entirely inaccurate, to speak of it as being worth 50 cents. It was actually worth a dollar or slightly more most of the time.

On the whole we cannot perceive that this book is in any respect superior to that part of the History of California written by Henry L. Oak, and which comprises the first three volumes of Mr. Bancroft's History of California. Prof. Chapman had more data at his command than Oak, but the added information does not materially change our views of the history of California. Although possessed of all the information that Mr. Oak had and a very considerable amount besides, we do not see that he has constructed a work which is at all comparable to that of his predecessor as a serious historical contribution, nor do we think that it is any more readable than that of Oak. As time goes on it is more and more realized that the work of Oak constitutes one of the few first-class historical works produced in this country, and that no one has yet been found to improve upon it. Unfortunately for his reputation, the identity of his work is lost in the thirty-nine volumes of Bancroft's History, wherein it is mixed up with some that is good, some that is bad, and much that is very indifferent. Oak possessed a high degree of critical acumen and utilized the materials at his command with great skill. In addition to all this he had a very happy facility of expression and a very good sense of proportion.

H. R. Wagner.



A California Pilgrimage. Being an account of the 65th anniversary of Bishop Kip's First Missionary journey through the San Joaquin Valley, together with Bishop Kip's own story of the events commemorated. Published at Fresno, California, for private subscription only. 1921.

These letters, three in number, originally appeared serially in "The Spirit of Missions," in February, March and April, 1856, and heretofore have never been reprinted. They form the

earliest accounts of travel through that part of the country. The expedition left San Francisco, October 1, 1855, and continued traveling until October 21. The three letters are: I. Los Angeles; II. Fort Tejon; and III. The Plains and Fort Miller. The Bishop was an accomplished writer and has given many interesting details of the country, the Indians, and the incidents of his trip. On leaving Los Angeles he naïvely remarks:—"Our driver was also well armed and the gentlemen with me had their rifles and revolvers. It may seem strange to an eastern reader to hear of a visitation being made with such accompaniments, but here there is no help for it." As the good bishop no doubt carried his prayer-book, it was truly a strange mixture of weapons both spiritual and carnal.

Two hundred and fifty copies were issued, illustrated, and beautifully printed by Bruce Brough at San Francisco.

Robert Ernest Cowan.



Gospel Pioneering: Reminiscences of early Congregationalism in California, 1853-1920. By William C. Pond, D. D. (Oberlin: Ohio), 1921.

Though not of the earliest clergymen in California (for Benton, Willey, and others were already active in 1849), the author of this biography was one of the youngest and most alert, and the one who has had the longest term of active service—from 1853, the year of his arrival, to the present year (1922)—when at the age of ninety-three, he is still so earnestly engaged in the work of the Oriental mission that with reluctance he has withdrawn from it long enough to complete the story of his life.

Dr. Pond was the first pastor (1853-1855) of the Greenwich St. Church in San Francisco; the next ten years (1855-1865) were actively passed in the mining towns of Grass Valley, Nevada City, and elsewhere on the frontier; he was in Petaluma (1865-1868); and for the last forty-seven years he has been tireless in laboring among the Chinese of San Francisco.

Robert Ernest Cowan.

The City of the Golden Gate. A description of San Francisco in 1875. Written by Samuel Williams. San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1921.

A charming and intensely interesting word-picture; a literary panorama as it were, written when "Old San Francisco" was at the zenith of its pioneer glory, and before the altering influence of the Comstock wealth which followed.

The author has made a minute survey of the picturesque features and institutions of that earlier day. Many of these peculiarities had gradually disappeared before the march of progress, and those that still remained were finally obliterated by the destructive elements in 1906. The noticeable buildings of that day, such as the Safe Deposit Block, the hotels, Occidental, Lick, and Grand, the Railroad Block and others, are almost forgotten names. Old Chinatown was vastly different from that quarter of today. Emperor Norton and all of the characters, quaint and picturesque, have moved on forever, nor are their places filled with others. The hoodlum of that day has given way to the more vicious gangster of the present, and all of these bygone features are remembered only by the older members of the community.

The book is tastefully and beautifully printed at the Grabhorn Press, and privately issued for the members of The Book Club of California.

Robert Ernest Cowan.



The lore and the lure of the Yosemite the Indians their customs, legends and beliefs and the story of Yosemite by Herbert Earl Wilson with illustrations from photographs by H. C. Pillsbury. A. M. Robertson San Francisco, California MLCCCCXXII.

Mr. Wilson, the author of this charming little book, is a lecturer in the Yosemite for the transportation company, and many visitors to the Yosemite Lodge have no doubt heard him tell his stories about the Indians and describe the scenic wonders of that beautiful spot. Mr. Wilson has lived in the Yosemite for a number of years and has been most diligent in accu-

mulating from the few remaining Indians who come into the park in the summer everything that they are willing to tell about their past history or the history of the valley. Much of it is embodied in this volume, and besides one will find most beautiful descriptions of the wonders of the valley, couched in most poetic language.

THE NEW YORK VOLUNTEER

Reproduced from the drawing in the Hollingsworth Journal. This sketch was possibly intended to represent the Lieutenant himself.



